

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

June, 1941

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THACKERAY AS A SATIRIST PREVIOUS TO *VANITY FAIR*

By JOHN W. DODDS

To one interested in tracing the growth of Thackeray's mind and art the years before *Vanity Fair* are particularly significant. For Thackeray's art matured slowly. When he wrote his first book review for the *Times* in April, 1837, he was in his twenty-sixth year. At that age Dickens, of Thackeray's contemporaries, had published *Pickwick Papers* and *Oliver Twist*; Disraeli, *Vivian Grey*; Bulwer, four novels, including *Pelham*. Thackeray had still to struggle through eleven years of miscellaneous journalism before reaching his first great success in the novel. Not until *Barry Lyndon* did he even attempt anything which had the amplitude and resonance of which he was capable. He had thought of himself as a *Punch* man, a critic, a satirist, an urbane writer of travel books, a creator of edged farce, but never, except briefly in *The Great Hoggarty Diamond* (1841) as a creator of character and incident in the blended form we find in the novels. Indeed there is a letter which shows that he thought of *Vanity Fair* as fundamentally a "humorous" work;¹ and the sub-title on the yellow cover of the first monthly part would indicate that it grew into a novel almost unawares: "Pen and Pencil Sketches of English Society." All in all Thackeray came slowly into the conception of the novel on a broad, deliberate scale, incorporating the histories of families as well as of individuals, and penetrated with a humanity which gave gentleness as well as authority to his perception of life's cruelties and ironies.

The large body of Thackeray's work before *Vanity Fair* makes the tracing of his ideas and attitudes a fruitful task. Many points of view, many typical moods which are given superior body and form in the novels appear in the reviews, burlesques, and narratives which make the bulk of his early journalism. There is no sudden break in the stream of his development; he did mature, however, and the process of that growth is worth following. He begins as a literary bear-cub sharpening his satiric claws against the literary and social inanities of his time. He becomes at last the ironist whose view of life is tempered by an honest anger at cruelty

¹ A letter to Robert Bell, Sept. 3, 1848, thanking him for a favorable review of *Vanity Fair* in the September issue of *Fraser's*. "Pathos I hold should be very occasional indeed in humorous works and indicated rather than expressed or expressed very rarely. In the passage where Amelia is represented as trying to separate herself from the boy . . . that is greatly pathetic I think: it leaves you to make your own sad pictures—We shouldn't do much more than that I think in comic books. . . ."

and hypocrisy but who for the most part filters his indignation through the gentle melancholy that comes with the ironist's perception of man's baffled aspirations and his self-contradictions. This paper will attempt to identify the quality and indicate something of the evolution of Thackeray's early satire.

It begins as early as his university days in Cambridge and his share in the rather feeble undergraduate humor of *The Snob: a Literary and Scientific Journal*. Here appeared his poem "Timbuctoo," a burlesque on the subject set for the prize contest of the year. The Chancellor's Medal was won that year by Alfred Tennyson with a poem much more meritorious and much duller than Thackeray's. "Timbuctoo" is in its broad way a parody of all undergraduate prize poems and is, with its mock-pedantic footnotes, perhaps the most reasonable treatment of such an esoteric subject. In the same journal appeared Thackeray's "Ramsbottom Papers," an imitation of the popular "Ramsbottom Papers" by the egregious Theodore Hook. They are interesting now only because they show the delight that Thackeray took in the humor of misspelling and because they point forward to the more mature "Yellowplush Papers."

Thackeray's early journalism, after the failure of his two newspaper-publishing ventures, is closely tied in with the early history of *Fraser's Magazine* under the vivacious editorship of Doctor William Maginn, the gadfly of the London literary world. In Thackeray's book reviews we can trace not only the sharpening of his style but also the fixing of definite attitudes toward the function and art of prose fiction.

When he began to write for *Fraser's* the magazine had been for several years carrying on a satirical attack upon the currently popular "fashionable novelists"—the "silver-fork school"—with Bulwer bearing the brunt of the attack. Thackeray was by temperament hostile to the intellectual dishonesty, the spongy and inflated sentimentality, the drooling gush and pomposity of this kind of fiction. Always it was his delight to pillory shallow conventionalities and snobbish elegance. So he joined the hunt with the *Fraser* pack and began his pursuit of Bulwer, and later of Disraeli, with a relentless vigor—a pursuit not to end until the banalities of the "fashionable" novelists had been embalmed in *Punch's Prize Novelists* of 1847. Looking back on it later Thackeray was sorry for what seemed to him then the unnecessary ferociousness of his attacks. Cruel he was, to be sure, but except for an occasional injudicious personal reference, cruel with a sort of cauterizing cruelty, serving a definite therapeutic purpose. At this distance most of it seems healthy and justifiable. It is futile to complain, as some of Bulwer's defenders have done, that Thackeray was jealous of

Bulwer's popular success. Thackeray's later apologies for his severity indicate no softening of his fundamental dislike for hollow pretentiousness. His record on that point, however charitable he may have grown, is of a piece from beginning to end.

With a high relish, then, Thackeray went after those "gilded" books, the sentimental "Annuals," and after the pseudo-elegance of Lady Charlotte Bury's novels and the consumptive heroines of Miss Landon. Bulwer he dissected with a pitiless sleek savagery which laid bare that gentleman's artistic weaknesses—an attack the more effective because it was cushioned with an expressed good-will for Bulwer's future and an admission of his undoubted abilities. Occasionally Thackeray dropped into the sort of personalities which he later deplored, and to which, incidentally, he was not insensitive when they were turned against him. Nevertheless Thackeray was to retain, in his maturity, a steady aversion for shoddy writing, not because it was second-rate but because it pretended to be something it was not. With his acute eye for sponginess of thought and flatulency of style he was the predestined scourge of literary meretriciousness.

The growth of Thackeray's satirical power is seen most clearly when one compares the pungent but unlicked briskness of the Fraserian reviews with the double-distilled parodies of *Punch's Price Novelists* (1847). Here again Bulwer was led first to the sacrifice, and into the mouth of the uncle-murderer George de Barnwell is put all the vaporous philosophizing and the pseudo-mystical apostrophizing of the Good, the True, the Beautiful that is so characteristic of Bulwer's early drivelling heroes. *George de Barnwell* contained no personal references to Bulwer, and it is all the more cleanly destructive because of that.² The next victim was Dis-

² It may be repeated that Thackeray had no personal animus against Bulwer. As he wrote to Lady Blessington in 1848: "I have no sort of personal dislike (not that it matters whether I have or not) to Sir E.L.B.L., on the contrary the only time I met him, at the immortal Ainsworth's years ago, I thought him very pleasant, and I know from his conduct to my dear little Blanchard that he can be a most generous and delicate-minded friend. BUT there air sentiments in his writings which always anger me, big words which make me furious, and a premeditated fine writing against which I can't help rebelling."

Five years afterward, recognizing perhaps that Bulwer had atoned for the sins of his youth by his later and more sincere work, Thackeray wrote him a letter crying "Peccavi," in which he quoted from the 1853 preface to the American edition of his minor works: "There are two performances especially (among the critical and biographical works of the erudite Mr. Yellowplush) which I am sorry to see reproduced, and I ask pardon of the author of 'The Caxtons' for a lampoon, which I know he himself has forgiven and which I wish I could recall. I had never seen that eminent writer but once in public when this satire was penned, and wonder at the recklessness of the young man who could fancy such personality was harmless jocularity, and never calculated that it might give pain." Thus did Thackeray regret, as he grew older and more temperate, the personalities of *Mr. Yellowplush's Ajew* and *Epistles to the Literati*.

raeli, and in *Codlingsby* Thackeray catches Disraeli's very cadences. The parody does more than make fun of the latter's oriental splendor and magnificence; it reproduces his real narrative manner and blows it up to exaggerated proportions. And once again Thackeray ventilates the raggedness of a literary absurdity when he turns for the last time to the fustian of the fashionable novel as written by Mrs. Gore. Nowhere is his relish for the ridiculous keener than here in *Lords and Liveries*; he lays bare the complete and devastating banality of affected conversation, a grotesque brew of stupid chatter and polite whinnying. It is as much generic satire as it is a criticism of Mrs. Gore, who, unlike some of her sisters of the writing sorority, viewed with a certain level-headed common-sense the shallowness of her characters.

There is in the manuscript collection of the Huntington Library a letter written by Thackeray two years later to Mrs. Gore upon receipt of her novel, *The Hamiltons*. He gives there an interesting and friendly, if rather tempered apology for his earlier burlesques. Thackeray's standards of literary excellence did not soften as he grew older (as he applied them to himself they became more exacting) but the letter to Mrs. Gore does dovetail with other evidence to show that as his position in the world of letters became more secure he tended to become more tolerant of others. Without losing the sharp edge of his observation he was growing into benignity. Fortunately for us, however, he was still unregenerate in 1847.

G. P. R. James, Charles Lever, and even Fenimore Cooper enter this gallery of "prize novelists." Thackeray originally planned to include parodies of both Dickens and himself. *Punch* timorously vetoed the idea of a burlesque of Dickens and so Thackeray wrote neither of the contemplated chapters. Dickens wrote to Thackeray deprecating the fact that he had been left out, yet at the same time reproving him gently. "I think it a great pity," he wrote, "that we take advantage of the means our calling gives us with such accursed readiness of at all depreciating or vulgarizing each other. . . . I thought your power thrown away on that series, however happily executed."^a

This would seem to turn neatly against Thackeray some protests he had made previously about the necessity of maintaining the dignity and integrity of the literary profession. This accusation of "vulgarizing," however, hardly holds water. No one had a deeper sense than Thackeray of the desirability of amicable relations among authors. It is true that in his salad days he wrote things which stung some notoriously sensitive skins and that he showed fre-

^a Centenary Biographical Edition of Thackeray, ed. Lady Ritchie (London, 1911), VIII, xxvii.

quently a mild surprise that others should be hurt by criticisms which, had they been directed against him, he would have felt keenly. His own acute sensibility should have told him that the arrows which he meant not unkindly could quiver angrily in the flesh of a peculiarly susceptible brotherhood. The distinction needs to be made, however, that Thackeray's own complaints usually came when he felt that he had been attacked personally; he had an honest artistic modesty. On the other hand he saw no literary treason in parodying the palpable absurdities of his fellow writers as he did in the *Prize Novelists*. And indeed behind the truculence of those authors fearful of parody there is seen something of the stuffed shirt which is not exclusively a Victorian heritage.

But Thackeray did not waste all of his satirical ammunition on the fashionable novel; there were other literary vineyards in which to labor.

Anyone whose task it has been to go down the byways of early Victorian fiction cannot escape a melancholy recognition of its congenital feebleness. Booksellers were making their living from the stories of high jinks and buffoonery poured out by Pierce Egan and Theodore Hook, and from the early rattling, rollicking, hard-drinking, hard-riding heroes of Charles Lever; from sentimental glittering trash about fashionable society by those who were in it and those who aspired to it—the Bulwers, Gores, Burys, Blessingtons, *et al.*; and from equally sentimental stories of crime and low life, which blended the appearance of a tell-all realism with an actual meretricious idealization of the criminal. Thackeray's early concern with the Newgate novel is important, for it leads him into his stories which begin to approach the novel in form—first *Catherine*, the crime novel planned to end all crime novels, and later *Barry Lyndon*, where the record of depravity reaches a kind of artistic translation.⁴

⁴ Any discussion of Thackeray's earliest contributions to *Fraser's* involves the authorship of the burlesque *Elizabeth Brownrigge* (1832), a not unively satire on Bulwer's *Eugene Aram*. Because the theme of the story (i.e., that the way to become a successful author is to make virtue and vice indistinguishable) is similar to Thackeray's treatment of the same idea in *Catherine*, the story has been attributed to Thackeray. Each of Thackeray's biographers and bibliographers has had an opinion to offer; they disagree with remarkable unanimity. I cannot find Thackeray's hand in this piece. His *Catherine*, published in the same magazine in 1839-40, is a superior treatment of the same theme, but it appears to me improbable that Thackeray at twenty-one years of age would have been capable of *Elizabeth Brownrigge*. It is in the vein which Maginn encouraged in his contributors and it is possible, as has been suggested, that he himself, or perhaps Douglas Jerrold, wrote it. There is a letter of Thackeray's quoted in the Anderson Art Association catalogue for the Goodyear sale in 1926 that helps to clear up this vexed question: "... a comic story called 'The Professor' was I think my first regular appearance as a paid author, in Bentley's Miscellany 1837 I think, but about dates I am not certain." He was right about the date.

By 1834 Thackeray had begun to protest against the idealization of criminals as seen in Bulwer's *Eugene Aram* (1832) and Ainsworth's *Rookwood* (1834).⁵ By 1839 he was able to include Dickens' *Oliver Twist* in his strictures upon the false representation of criminal life. He protests against the "sham low . . . which amateurs delight to write and read, and which is altogether different from the honest, hearty vulgarity which it pretends to represent." He speaks of Bulwer's ingenious inconsistencies, and Dickens' "startling, pleasing, unnatural caricatures."⁶ *Jack Sheppard* he found "immoral actually because it is decorous."⁷

This was written shortly after Thackeray had concluded in *Fraser's* his attempt to achieve the morality of indecorum. *Catherine* was the result of his quixotic and fruitless attempt to write a crime novel so revolting that the public would in the future turn in disgust from anything of the sort. A few people liked it—Carlyle called it "wonderful"—but there is no evidence that it proved the moral cathartic for the public which Thackeray meant it to be. He intended that in this story "no man shall mistake virtue for vice, no man shall allow a single sentiment of pity or admiration to enter his bosom for any character of the piece: it being, from beginning to end, a scene of unmixed rascality performed by persons who never deviate into good feeling." One feels, however, a curious uncertainty of tone in the story. For one thing, Thackeray's manner of telling it is touched with felicitous allusion and not a little humor. Try as he might to whip himself into a rage with his characters, let him exclaim that here no one is going to die a white-washed saint "like poor 'Biss Dadsy' in 'Oliver Twist,'" let him tell his readers that they "ought to be made cordially to detest, scorn, loathe, abhor, and abominate all people of this kidney"—yet in spite of his declared purpose he makes us interested in them. The character of "Cat" herself, and the author's interest in her as a human being, is perhaps the chief reason for his failure to realize his purpose. As he admitted to his mother, ". . . you see the author had a sneaking kindness for his heroine, and did not like to make her quite worthless."

Barry Lyndon (*Fraser's Magazine*, 1844) is the consummation of Thackeray's revolt against the sentimental treatment of crime in popular fiction. Here, however, he forgets to be didactic and becomes actively creative. Barry is no lay figure but a creature of flesh and blood, and his career is turned into absorbing narrative.

⁵ "Hints for a History of Highwaymen," *Fraser's* (March, 1834).

⁶ "Horæ Catnachianæ," *Fraser's* (April, 1839).

⁷ A review of Fielding's works, *The Times* (Sept. 2, 1840).

He has, to be sure, good literary antecedents. He is a picaro of the first water whose adventures have their roots back in the eighteenth century with Defoe and Fielding. Thackeray does not attempt the double-edged satire of *Jonathan Wild*, where Fielding's concern is to show that the great men of all ages have succeeded through the exercise of the same qualities of greatness as Wild's: that is, cruelty and fraud. Thackeray achieves something even subtler—the damning of a rogue out of his own mouth. Barry tells his own story.

In the earlier portions of the story the picaresque element is strong, and Barry, though a scapegrace, has a certain youthful animal charm. As he progresses into crime and becomes an artist in debauchery his narrative becomes the record of a heartless and depraved rascal who insists, nevertheless, that he has been mistreated by Fate and who defends his most atrocious rascalities with the bland air of one who simply does not know right from wrong. He bleats when others treat him as he would have treated them, but he is buttressed by an astounding egotism which enables him to tell with a straight face and with no sense of shame the record of a misspent life. His narrative is a sustained piece of consummate irony. Thackeray was to find broader and more engaging themes but never was his control of his materials firmer, his artistic intuition keener, than in this story of the slow decay of a bragging scoundrel. In spite of its subject, *Barry Lyndon* is not depressing and never tedious; the completely ironic point of view makes Barry's exposure infinitely amusing. Here, then, is Thackeray's first unqualified artistic success in the novel. Never before or after did he give more deftly the very anatomy of baseness. And yet by the persuasiveness of his style and the brilliance of his sustained point of view, this seeming *tour de force* becomes narrative art of a high order.

But not all of Thackeray's early satire was aimed against the popular fiction of his time. The *Yellowplush Correspondence*, which began in *Fraser's* in November, 1837, shows him flushing for the first time, in rather elementary fashion, objects of satire which were to become more familiar to him later; he is sharpening his scent for snobs. And even more significantly some of the characterizations here, although lacking the delicacy of light and shade they were to have in later incarnations, are recognizable prototypes. Deuceace himself, gambler and crook, is the first of Thackeray's characters to live in lazy luxury on nothing a year. His father, the Earl of Crabs, is a study in gross malevolent selfishness, about whom there lingers, nevertheless, a sort of malicious good-

cheer. Here also are two characters of the kind for which Thackeray was always to have a fearful relish and whom he was to portray with an almost intolerable vividness—his termagant women, most frequently step-mothers or mothers-in-law. Mrs. Shum is an earlier and coarser Campaigner.

These stories, as well as the other early stories of shabby gentility, give us one of the clues to the development of Thackeray's narrative art. This development is the gradual coalescing and purification of two divergent points of view which, in his earlier work, can be studied almost independently. Their stratification is distinct even though he baffles us by attempting to superimpose them. On the one hand there is the professional funny man with a true and native sense of the ludicrous and grotesque, and with a nice feeling for bathos. On the other hand is the man with a clinical interest in blackguards, searching among the seams of the social fabric for the *pediculi* which infest them; never cheaply cynical or misanthropic, but focusing his vision with a painful intensity upon shabby and vulgar motives, ferreting out meanness and cruelty and isolating without pity, in its chemically pure form, not heroic sin but rather scurvy and malignant rascality. To this end his gallery of Deuceaces, Earls of Crabs, Mrs. Shums, Captain Rooks, Stubbses, Catherines, Gorgons, and Scullys. These are the more painful because they are not melodramatic Dickensian villains smelling of grease paint and false whiskers, but are brutally real.

Knowing Thackeray, we know him capable of great tenderness, and we are aware that he came to show for the human race not only a lacerated pity but also a pervasive relish and enjoyment. Even his sordidness has a prophylactic purpose. His concern is to strip the pretense from life and, without sneering at frailty, to scrutinize human motives wherever they might lead him. The mistake in art, in these early years, was not merely in his tortured preoccupation with cynical sinners—even that could be creative—but in his frequent attempts to immerse them in a bath of burlesque. Far from tempering the satire, this makes it seem more than a little hideous. Thackeray retained always his gift for probing beneath the surface and exposing sham; he retained, too, his essentially humorous appreciation of men and events. But as he grew in wisdom both of these fused into a new molecular combination; out of the lion came forth sweetness. He could always take the button off the foil when it seemed necessary; yet for the most part sympathy blended with satire to make the irony which is the most striking quality of his best work.

Any survey of Thackeray's early satire must head up in the work he did for *Punch* during the 1840's. We have already noticed the *Prize Novels*. But it was with the *Snobs of England* (1846-47) that he tasted for the first time really unmitigated popular success.

Not the least of the ironies of Thackeray's literary career was that during the mid-'forties the author who was about to write *Vanity Fair* was known almost entirely as a *Punch* man. The Titmarsh who had labored for recognition in *Fraser's* with *The Great Hoggarty Diamond* and with *Barry Lyndon* was to make his first really notable success as an anonymous contributor to a comic magazine. By the time he withdrew from *Punch* he had published in it well over four hundred bits of writing and something under four hundred drawings.

His *Punch* papers vary a great deal in quality and effectiveness. One can trace in his major efforts an advance in literary power and the strengthening of tendencies which were to become still more apparent in the novels, but in the mass of his miscellaneous contributions there is no discernible line of growth. Typically they are burlesque, with occasional broad shots of satire; almost always they depend for their effect upon extravagant exaggeration. Some seem slight today because of their topical subject matter; others are slight because they never could have been anything else. If there are dull stretches and if Thackeray too frequently forces the fun, it must be remembered that he was writing for a living and had to be funny on schedule. What is more surprising is the vast amount of good stuff. To name no others, the Jeames de la Pluche letters, the letters of Mr. Brown to his nephew, the inimitable *Prize Novels*, and the *Snob Papers* were all brought to bed by *Punch*.

It is necessary to look here at the relation of Thackeray's drawings to his literary art, for his drawings have an interest beyond themselves; he is the only great novelist who was also his own illustrator, and his pictures serve as admirable commentaries on the text. In and through their strength and weakness one often gets a clue to his conception of character. But it is foolish to say, as has been said, that he ranks almost with Leech and Cruikshank. Thackeray himself knew better; he knew that he lacked draughtmanship in the strict sense. There are, among his sketches, some charming pen and water-color studies of landscape and architecture possessing a fresh delicacy of line, but in his drawings of people he shows a lack of technical skill. This is most apparent in his more serious pictures. There one finds his mature and completely incredible children and his vacuous maidens who, with faces uncreased by any

marks of intelligence, simpler from the page like the females whose images (as Professor Beers has reminded us in another connection) one used to find stamped on the sides of prune boxes.

No, when Thackeray is at his best he is more than a little the caricaturist, in which vein he could be altogether delightful. He could be engagingly absurd and nonsensical, as in the illustrations to *The Rose and the Ring* and in the innumerable sketches for *Punch*. More frequently he was satirical with a lusty but inoffensive Hogarthian gusto. Bleary vulgarity, perky insolence, stuffy respectability, egotistical asininity, all felt the point of his pencil. His splay-footed butlers and his debonairly conceited bucks are drolly humorous. He could do to a turn the fat smugness of a Jos Sedley. For grotesque female ugliness he had no mercy and his pages are sprinkled with hideous harridans any one of whom might have been the Campaigner.

One wonders, however, if he saw the characters of his novels quite as he reduced them to the wood-block. The Cruikshank vein does very well for the *Yellowplush Papers*, just as it did well for Dickens, in whose case the distortions of line reinforce and give point to the broad eccentricities of character. But in the some forty etchings and one hundred fifty woodcuts to *Vanity Fair* one feels that somehow the illustrations are in a sense contradicting the text, broadening down subtleties and making caricatures of very human people. Certainly Becky was more than a vixenish Mona Lisa and Amelia, however dull, deserved better than the imbecilic prettiness which her artist gave her.

Not infrequently, however, Thackeray's drawings interpret and reinforce his criticism of life, which, in its larger reaches, is the ironist's point of view. Such is the familiar tail-piece to *Vanity Fair*—the amusing self-caricature of the flat-nosed bespectacled jester in fool's uniform, with humorous mask in his lap and on his face an expression of wistful melancholy. Such is the drawing of "Ludovicus Rex" in the *Paris Sketch Book*, where in three little sketches Thackeray gives the equivalent of a whole chapter of Carlyle's clothes-philosophy. And malapropos as some of Thackeray's more serious attempts are, we should be unwilling to lose the hundreds of unpretentious illustrations which he dashed off with technical incompetence, perhaps, but with a vigorous good-humor. One of Thackeray's earliest and strongest ambitions was to be a painter. In a sense he rose to literature across the stepping-stones of his baffled artistry, and no one who is unaware of that can understand fully either the man or the pictorial tact with which, in the text of the novels, he seizes always upon just the right characterizing detail.

In his articles for *Punch*, as in his drawings, Thackeray had his favorite objects of pursuit. He poured out the vials of his wrath upon the rigid moralists who kept the museums closed on Sundays; he decried the flogging of soldiers; with a sharp pertinence he attacked Colonial land-grabbing conducted by the government under the cloak of religion and missionary work; with a recurring and disproportionate anger he heaped contempt upon the snobberies of the "Court Circular." A survey, then, of his more miscellaneous *Punch* writings reveals a keen interest in current affairs as well as a sensible analysis of the minor grotesqueries of Victorian civilization.⁸

In tracing the growth of Thackeray as a literary craftsman, *Punch* serves as a sort of transition. At one end are Tickletohy and Yellowplush and the Fat Contributor, pointing back to the earlier Yellowplush, to Gahagan, and to the FitzBoodle of the "Confessions." At the other end, falling within the years 1847-50, are the "Spec" of *Travels in London*, Mr. Brown of the *Letters to a Young Man About Town*, and Solomon Pacifico of the *Proser*, pointing forward just as clearly to the Thackeray who was to be the genial fireside philosopher of the later *Roundabout Papers*. When we remember that the years of Mr. Brown and the Proser were the years of *Pendennis* as well, we realize that these essays, which often incorporate little narratives, and *Pendennis*, which is itself full of little essays, are not so far apart. The later *Punch* papers, then, representing a mellowing of Thackeray's personality and the exercise of that faculty of quiet contemplation which so impregnates the novels, lead us toward *Vanity Fair* and *Pendennis*. Spec, Mr. Brown, Dr. Solomon Pacifico are all the Thackeray who was later to shake his mop of white hair, look benignly over his spectacles, and settle down in his armchair to discuss with sympathetic chuckles the whimsical weaknesses and the amazing humanity of men. The blue eyes behind the spectacles were, to be sure, very sharp and could twinkle mischievously as well as cloud with tender sentiment. In these *Punch* papers there is somewhat

⁸One of his lighter comments on the active campaign being waged against the abominably unsanitary condition of the Serpentine and the Thames is worth a note, for it carries to a logical humorous conclusion the species of warfare against adulterated foods of which we hear (justifiably, no doubt) so much today. Thackeray purports to be a man driven almost to suicide by the terror inspired by the reports that almost everything he eats, and even the air he breathes, is full of poison. He can buy, in a certain place, coffee that is guaranteed nonpoisonous, but "if my milk is poisoned, my tea poisoned, my bread ditto, the air which I breathe poisoned . . . if my Thames is a regular Lethe, in which every eel is a mortal writhing serpent, and every white bait a small dose of death, what is the odds of taking a little more or less pyroligenous acid in my coffee?" (XV, 127, 1848.)

more of the imp and less of the wistful philosopher. Yet even here, amid the glint of satire and the sparkle of humorous description, Thackeray has assumed the rôle of the old man mildly evaluating the social scene, lashing out against cruelty and snobbery but commending, where he finds it, honor, tenderness, and magnanimity.

The Snobs of England (1846-47) brought Thackeray to grips with a social phenomenon by no means peculiar to the Victorians alone but particularly noticeable in a society in which social levels were shifting rapidly and in which the newly-moneyed members of the middle classes, as yet crude and uneasy and without social traditions, were aping the gentility. Thackeray was not the first to analyze the disease nor the last to treat it. Bulwer had pointed it out with surprising lucidity as early as his *England and the English* in 1833. Disraeli saw it. It is found in the pages of Dickens and Trollope. *Punch* continued to hunt it out long after Thackeray had dropped the chase. It was Thackeray, however, who first traced the thing in its various manifestations and who became the proper historian of the particular forms of servility and arrogance which infested his time.

The circulation of *Punch* boomed with the publication of these papers and Thackeray, having caught a good thing by the tail, was unable to let it go until it had carried him out of snobdom proper into a twilight land where disagreeable people of whatever kind, not snobs even in the loosest sense of the word, had to qualify for admission to the fraternity. When Thackeray reprinted the papers later he omitted seven of the chapters, having found them, he said, "so stupid, so personal, so snobbish—in a word—that I have withdrawn them from this collection." But in 1846 he swung the lash vigorously; he uses broad strokes in the *Snob Papers* and his indignation sometimes fumes and splutters. Yet the satire is sharp and constitutes a kind of preliminary cartoon for the subtler analyses of *Vanity Fair*. The papers are full of inimitable phrases, trenchant, but luminous too with that easy grace which Thackeray brought even to his most occasional satire.

In view of the breadth of his categories Thackeray was wise in saying that it is impossible to define a snob accurately. His tentative definition, "one who meanly admires mean things," though it is of course central, is not all-inclusive. There are two broad aspects of snobbishness: that in which those at the foot of the ladder cringe before and fawn upon those who are a few rungs above them; and that in which those perched at the top trample with supercilious arrogance the fingers of the aspirants beneath. Thackeray paid more attention to the former class as being both ubiquitous and more offensive.

Within the limitations of his restricted theme Thackeray accomplished a great deal. Yet through all the hard hitting and behind the distortion that came from riding a fruitful but limited subject too hard one can see the Thackeray who wished no ill to any honest soul—the champion of “love and simplicity and natural kindness.” Thackeray knew of course that one who hunted snobs so vigorously would himself be accused of snobbery. He attempted to disarm criticism by including himself with his victims; of such calm moralists as himself “is there one, I wonder, whose heart would not throb with pleasure if he could be seen walking arm-in-arm with a couple of dukes down Pall Mall?” His severest blows were aimed at the condition of society which made snobbishness so easy. Nevertheless some of the pitch clung to his own fingers, and he has been written down snob by not a few hostile critics.⁹

The drift of the attack seems to be that because Thackeray later told Motley that he did not like *The Book of Snobs* and because he was, in the days of his success, wooed successfully by aristocratic circles, he was therefore a snob and a hypocrite. Now Thackeray delighted in being thought well of. He was by nature fond of society and though he saw through its foibles he nevertheless had a reasonably good time in it. He enjoyed the company of intelligent and cultured people and hunted them out wherever he could find them. Nevertheless it is impossible, without ignoring the weight of all reliable testimony, to show that he was ever supercilious or affected on the one hand or servile on the other. He sometimes turned upon bores or upon those who grated upon his excessive sensitiveness, but one gets a very distinct impression of a man completely unpretentious and modest, so much so that he could rub shoulders with titles without endangering at all his love for the simpler world to which he belonged. It is to be remembered that his friends among the aristocracy were not of the genre whose failings it was a part of his life's work to pillory. Parenthetically, the visitor with whom he shared most frequently the hospitality of Lord and Lady Ashburton at “The Grange” was that other old snob, Thomas Carlyle!

There remains one phase of Thackeray's early work—literary burlesque this time—which shows clearly his growth since the cut-

⁹ The most bitter attack in recent years upon Thackeray as a man is that of Michael Sadleir in *Bulwer—A Panorama: Edward and Rosina 1803-36* (London, 1931). In his zeal for his hero Mr. Sadleir forgets to check the accuracy of his charges against Thackeray, and those charges are vulnerable throughout. One may or may not like Thackeray, who is patently open to criticism, but it must be more discriminating than this. For a partial answer to Sadleir's abuse see Simon Nowell Smith: “In Defense of Thackeray,” *Nineteenth Century* (July, 1933).

and-slash days of his early reviewing and is at the same time a guide to certain dominant qualities of his mature manner. *A Legend of the Rhine* was written for George Cruikshank's *Table Book* in 1845. Here Thackeray takes Dumas' story of *Othon l'Archer* and turns to burlesque what had been romantic. Romance, as refracted through Thackeray's spectacles, always looked a little ridiculous, not because the romantic heroes and heroines failed to be Victorian but because so often they were not quite credible. Just as Thackeray was always a little afraid of the sublime lest it turn suddenly into the sham-sublime, so he mistrusted the heroic lest it prove to be a mock-heroic. Driven by a desire to see life steadily he was suspicious of any appeal which might distort that level realism. His effort is always to reach beyond the peripheries of romance to whatever appearance of truth might be there. This impatience with romantic trappings carries him at times into a studied realism which might seem morbid did it not come so obviously from a compassionate heart.

A case in point:

They are passed away:—those old knights and ladies: their golden hair first turned to silver, and then the silver dropped off and disappeared forever; their elegant legs, so slim and active in the dance, become swollen and gouty, dwindled down to bare bone-shanks; the roses left their cheeks, and then their cheeks disappeared, and left their skulls, and then their skulls powdered into dust, and all sign of them was gone. And as it was with them, so shall it be with us. Ho, seneschal! fill me a cup with liquor! put sugar in it, good fellow—yes, and a little hot water; a very little, for my soul is sad, as I think of those days and knights of old.¹⁰

The mood here is so completely Thackeray's! First the determined fixing upon rather gruesome details; then the alas! poor Yorick! tenderness for the past combined with a willful inability to see the past too romantically; and finally the informal humorous twist at the end which fixes the mood of comfortable sadness. For here is the point: there is much of Cervantes in Thackeray. *A Legend of the Rhine* is burlesque, but tender burlesque. Even as Thackeray makes fun of Dumas' extravagances he shows his affection for the kind of thing Dumas did. He likes to catch glimpses of the knights as they walk in the grey limbo of romance, "shining faintly in their coats of steel, wandering by the side of long-haired ladies, with long-tailed gowns that little pages carry." Loving them, he can afford to make merry with them, and so the rich apparatus of anachronisms: armored knights on horseback carrying little um-

¹⁰ *A Legend of the Rhine*, Centenary Biographical Edition, XXIV, 405-6.

brellas in the rain; references to a notary-public; crowds of English coming to an archery tournament armed with Murray's Guide-book. He revels too in all the paraphernalia of pseudo-antique expressions and in the flavor of old oaths. Thus Sir Ludwig kneels before a saint's image to recite "a censer, an ave, and a couple of acolytes."

Rebecca and Rowena (1850) was an expanded form of an earlier Titmarshian paper, *Proposals for a Continuation of Ivanhoe*, which had been published in *Fraser's* in 1846. In a prefatory letter to Dumas he had lamented the flood of fashionable novels and the dearth of historical romances. He proposed that when Dumas had exhausted most of his heroes at their ripe old age he should take up other people's heroes and give a continuation of their lives. And of all romantic novels that of which the conclusion gives the greatest dissatisfaction is dear old *Ivanhoe*.

I have quite too great a love for the Disinherited Knight, whose blood has been fired by the suns of Palestine, and whose heart has been warmed in the company of the tender and beautiful Rebecca, to suppose that he could sit down contented for life by the side of such a frigid piece of propriety as that icy, faultless, prim, niminy-piminy Rowena.¹¹

This is the theme, and Titmarsh then gives some hints which he has thrown together for the continuation of the story. The later *Rebecca and Rowena*, amid the genial digs at Scott and at heroic romance in general, is burlesque written by one as fond of the old romance of knighthood as he is eager to right the injustice done Rebecca. As Thackeray burlesques the battles and the aspirations of the age of chivalry and points out its dullness and its cruelties, showing as it were the reverse side of romance, he shows at the same time his love for old unhappy far-off things.

Thackeray's real attachment to historical romance is shown in his desire to write a novel about the times of Henry V. "It would be a most magnificent performance," he told Motley, "and no one would read it." The fragment that he did write, printed by his daughter as *The Knights of Borsellen*, is a most instructive study. Here is Thackeray grappling seriously with the past, with kings and knights in armor, with culverins and ribaldequins and all the romantic machinery which he elsewhere burlesqued. We know that he read widely for his background material; the story shows a careful and authentic assembling of details. And the fragment written is pathetically stiff and ineffective. This kind of story demands a sweep and gesture which Thackeray seemed unable to give it—

¹¹ Centenary Biographical Edition of the *Works*, XIV, 111-12.

except in burlesque! He could work comfortably in the form only when he made gentle fun of that of which he was so fond. Thus was the ironist his own greatest irony!

There are few novelists of equal rank with Thackeray, the survey of whose preliminary and collateral work takes one down so many avenues, of which we have here followed only one. Yet almost all of those avenues give upon the broad highway of *Vanity Fair*, and with few novelists are we able to trace so distinctly the steps by which genius refined and cleared itself. From the very first he had lingered among the booths of the Fair, lifting the curtains and surveying the occupants with a quizzical eye. The satire and the irony of the great novels is more than indicated, it is hammered out and given temper in the apprentice work of Thackeray's early journalism.

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SHAKESPEARE'S ORLANDO INNAMORATO

By JOHN W. DRAPER

Shakespeare's Orlando indeed is Fortune's minion: in Act I, he starts as an outcast younger brother,¹ with no hope of support either from his family or from the reigning Duke. He overthrows the court wrestler with only the unsubstantial reward of Rosalind's love; he escapes with Adam's help from his brother's plots, comes upon Rosalind in the Forest of Arden, and after some pretty fooling marries her with her ducal father's consent, and so wins himself a wife and the inheritance of a duchy, with less effort and even more by chance, than Bassanio wins Portia.² In fact, aside from the initial wrestling match, Orlando's own designs and labors have little to do with all this happy outcome: Adam and Adam's life-time savings get him to the forest; and Rosalind, under a ruse, arranges his very wooing, and likewise obtains the all-important consent of her father. This is a strangely inert career for one of the world's great lovers; and, furthermore, such an Orlando leaves the plot, as it was in Lodge's story, the veriest tissue of Romantic accident. Shakespeare usually brought out the motivation of his characters and integrated the loose episodes of his sources; but here, for some reason, he has left the plot incoherent and allowed the hero to stand stationary in the action, as he describes himself at the end of the wrestling, "a quintain, a mere lifeless block." Indeed, it is Fortune brings the happy issue to his career, and he must be her minion.

Such a succession of pure luck was possible to only one psychological humor³ and one astral complexion, the sanguine, which was under Jupiter's influence. This humor was "Hot and moist, . . . the greatest fortune, masc[uline], diurnall, temperate, good in all aspects. . . ."⁴ Its physical effects were strength and longevity:

Eloude hath preeminence ouer all other humours in susteinynge all liuyng creatures, for it hath more conformitie with the oryginall cause of liuyng, by reason of temperatenesse in heate and moysture,

¹ See the present author, "Orlando, the Younger Brother," *P.Q.*, XIII, 72, *et seq.*; "As You Like It and 'Belted Will' Howard," *R.E.S.*, XII, 440 *et seq.*

² See H. P. Pettigrew, "Bassanio, the Elizabethan Lover," XVI, 296 *et seq.*

³ *Batman vppon Bartholome*, London, 1582, leaf 30 r.

⁴ C. Dariot, *Judgement of the Starres*, tr. F. Wither, London, 1598, sig. D 2 v.

also nourisheth more the body, and restoreth that which is decayed, being the very treasure of lyfe, by losse whereof death immediately foloweth.⁵

Cuffe in the main agrees:

. . . those of a sanguine constitution are by nature capable of the longest life; as having the two qualities of life best tempred and therefore is compared vnto aire, which is moderately hot and in the highest degree moist. Yet not with that too thinne and fluid watrish moisture, but more oily. . . .⁶

Surely the stars must be accountable—if any motivation underlies the plot—for Orlando's "greatest fortune"; and, since each guiding planet was closely linked with an appropriate humor, the predominance of Jupiter over Orlando's fate implies the predominance of blood, the sanguine humor, in his body. Already in his dramas, Shakespeare had governed the course of action in one play by the stars,⁷ and in another by the associated humors;⁸ and whether such a scheme of motivation may not lie behind Orlando's unexampled luck seems worth investigation.

Both Orlando's birth and his time of life accord with the sanguine temper. This humor was appropriate to "Noblemen";⁹ and Orlando, as he constantly repeats, is the son of a famous knight, whose very name is a byword in the mouth of friend and foe alike. Orlando, moreover, is his father's image: he is the "effigies"¹⁰ and the "memory Of old Sir Rowland."¹¹ This would alone suggest his having all the virtues of Chaucer's knight. He is, moreover, in the vigor of "youth";¹² and Jaques calls him "this cock."¹³ The sanguine humor was attributed to various parts of life between adolescence and old age: Vaughan puts it even after sixty;¹⁴ Cuffe associates it with the "Prime" of life, from twenty-five to thirty-five or forty;¹⁵ but Lemnius takes it as "proper to lustye flourishinge

⁵ Sir T. Elyot, *Castel of Helth*, London, 1541, leaf 8.

⁶ H. Cuffe, *The Differences of the Ages of Mans Life*, London, 1608, 97-98.

⁷ See the present author, "Shakespeare's 'Star-Crossed Lovers,'" *R.E.S.*, XV, 16 *et seq.*

⁸ See the present author, "'Kate the Curst,'" *Jour. Nerv. Ment. Dis.*, LXXXIX, 757 *et seq.*

⁹ Dariot, *op. cit.*, sig. D 2 v.

¹⁰ *As You Like It*, ed. Wright, II, vii, 193.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, iii, 3-4.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, iii, 17; I, ii, 137.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, vii, 90.

¹⁴ W. Vaughan, *Directions for Health*, London, 1633, 121.

¹⁵ Cuffe, *op. cit.*, 118-119.

age," the spring of our years.¹⁶ This last would accord most nearly with Orlando's "youth." In short, by his birth and also probably by his age, Orlando would seem to have by nature the jovial, sanguine temper.

His fine physique would also seem to confirm this supposition. Jupiter's man was handsome,¹⁷ of "faire stature,"¹⁸ and well proportioned.¹⁹ Vaughan explains that the sanguine humor "watereth all the body, and giveth nourishment unto it,"²⁰ and so it should produce beauty and strength. Hill imputes to the type moderate stature, moist and soft flesh and gentle looks, round slanting shoulders, a clear voice and long palms and fingers.²¹ Other physiognomists differ from him in details, but there seems no doubt that this type was generally considered strong and handsome. Orlando, therefore, should properly overcome not only his brother but also the Duke's wrestler; before the match, he "looks successfully"; and later Adam calls him "strong."²² That he is also good to look upon must have been at once apparent on the stage, and may be inferred in the text from the attitude of Celia and Rosalind. Apparently, moreover, his hair was reddish brown;²³ and this color was associated with the sanguine type.²⁴

This humor was as well marked in traits of character as in physique. It belonged to ". . . honest men, iust, true, benevolent, liberall, faithfull, mild, godly, shamefast, magnanimous. . . ."²⁵ It made men "moderate, mery, pleasant, fayre."²⁶ Orlando, likewise, is "virtuous" and "gentle, strong and valiant";²⁷ he will not "enforce a thievish living on the common road";²⁸ in their mutual extremity, he thinks first of Adam;²⁹ he risks his life to rescue even the wicked Oliver from the lioness; and without a murmur, he suffers from his wound until he faints. Sanguine people, perhaps because of their innate chivalry, were thought to be impractical;³⁰ and Or-

¹⁶ L. Lemnius, *Touchstone of Complexions*, tr. T. Newton, London, 1581, leaf 86, v et seq. Cf. leaf 29 v.

¹⁷ T. W[alkington], *Optick Glasse of Humors*, London [1631 ?], 115.

¹⁸ Dariot, *op. cit.*, sig. D 2 v.

¹⁹ Vicary, *Anatomic, E.E.T.S.*, Ex. Ser. LIII, 1888, 41.

²⁰ Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 127.

²¹ T. Hill, *Schoole of Skill*, London, 1599, leaf 7 v.

²² *As You Like It*, II, iii, 6.

²³ *Ibid.*, III, iv, 7.

²⁴ Vicary, *op. cit.*, 41; Dariot, *op. cit.*, sig. D 2 v; *Most Excellent Booke of Arcandam*, tr. W. Warde, London, 1592, sig. M 2 r.

²⁵ Dariot, *op. cit.*, sig. D 2 v.

²⁶ Arcandam, *op. cit.*, sig. M 2 r.

²⁷ *As You Like It*, II, iii, 5 et seq.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, iii, 32-33.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, vii, 88 et seq.

³⁰ Walkington, *op. cit.*, 114.

lando shows no great worldly wisdom either in his relations with Oliver, or in his plan to go to Arden, or in his life when he gets there. Walkington, furthermore, in opposition to Aristotle and Petrus Crinerus, imputed to this "paragon of complexions" the sharpest intellectuality;³¹ and the critical Jaques himself is constrained to compliment Orlando's "nimble wit,"³² and certainly Rosalind had reason to observe it. He is, moreover, "liberally minded" and "affable in speech."³³ He is quite equal to courtly manners as soon as he realizes the breeding of those he meets in the forest, and at once changes to the idiom of "smooth civility."³⁴ Orlando seems, therefore, to conform, not only to the physical beauty and strength of the sanguine man, but also to his charming disposition, his pleasing address and his impractical turn of mind.

The weakness of the sanguine type was love; and love, indeed, could even drive him to the opposite humor, cold, dry melancholy, and so to madness. Such pangs and miseries appear in Romeo³⁵ and in the Duke Orsino;³⁶ but Orlando, despite his desperate case, seems always to have taken for granted a happy outcome for his tender passion. Nevertheless, Orlando is far gone in love; and this is quite to be expected, for the sanguine complexion, according to Cogan, "is most giuen to Venus";³⁷ and Lemnius thought such men even open to "riot, watonnesse . . . and detestable loues."³⁸ Orlando then was particularly susceptible, and, like Romeo whose innate temper was also sanguine, he is terribly smitten at first sight. He cannot even say a word, and becomes "a mere lifeless block."³⁹ He reproaches himself with this untoward lumpishness, and cries, "What passion hangs these weights upon my tongue?" He quite understands his malady, and in agreement with the best medical authority,⁴⁰ later imputes the wound to his lady's "eyes."⁴¹ Even in exile, he must deface the trees with hyperbolic verses. In fact, his attraction seems as hopeless as that of the moth for the star, and yet he remains unwavering. Although Coef-

³¹ *Ibid.*, 111.

³² *As You Like It*, III, ii, 260.

³³ Walkington, *op. cit.*, 116.

³⁴ *As You Like It*, II, vii, 96 *et seq.*

³⁵ See J. W. Cole, "Romeo and Rosaline," *Neophil.*, XXIV, 285 *et seq.*

³⁶ See the present author, "The Melancholy Duke Orsino," *Bull. Hist. Med.*, VI, 1020 *et seq.*

³⁷ T. Cogan, *Haven of Health*, London, 1589, sig. Hh 2 v.

³⁸ Lemnius, *op. cit.*, ed. 1576, leaf 23 v; Walkington, *op. cit.*, 117.

³⁹ *As You Like It*, I, ii, 230.

⁴⁰ J. Ferrand, *'Eρωτοπαρία, or a Treatise of Love*, Oxford, 1640, 11-12, 41-42, 124; R. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III, Sec. 2, Memb. 2, Subs. 2; and N. Breton, *Melancholicke Humours*, London, 1600, No. 21.

⁴¹ *Twelfth Night*, V, ii, 23.

feteau associated the sanguine humor with "inconstancy,"⁴² yet Dariot and Walkington declared such men "faithful"⁴³ and noted for their "constant loving affection."⁴⁴ Sanguine men, moreover, were given to diseases of the liver,⁴⁵ which is described as "the shop of the Bloud";⁴⁶ and love especially attacked this organ.⁴⁷ How far Orlando is thus affected is not made clear; but Rosalind jocularly offers to cure him and wash his "liver" clean.⁴⁸ Thus Shakespeare closely integrates Orlando's sanguine humor and his role of lover in the comedy.

The violence of this passion and the apparent hopelessness of requital might easily have turned Orlando's genial humor into a dangerous melancholy that might have ended in madness; for love-melancholy was likely to attack sanguine people.⁴⁹ Rosalind seems to suffer from the complaint;⁵⁰ but Orlando apparently escapes. He is indeed "Signior Love";⁵¹ but he experiences, not atrabilious cold and dryness, but rather the heat of a "quotidian [fever] of love upon him."⁵² Rosalind notes that he lacks the outward marks of love-melancholy, "A lean cheek," a "sunken" eye and the rest;⁵³ and, indeed, Orlando will not join with Jaques in his melancholy railing against the world.⁵⁴ Toward the very end of the play, perhaps the "heart-heaviness" that he complains of⁵⁵ is a precursor of melancholy; but, on the whole, he clearly has the psychology, not of a hopeless, but of a happy and requited lover: perhaps, like Malvolio, he had faith in his "starres,"⁵⁶ but, if so, he does not mention it; perhaps Rosalind and lucky accident resolve his problem before melancholy can set in; possibly he recognizes Rosalind during the courtship scenes, though the text hardly bears this out; possibly the mere presence of his lady-love, though unrecognized, keeps his humor wholesome. At all events, Ferrand declares that

⁴² N. Coeffeteau, *Table of Humane Passions*, London, 1621, 238.

⁴³ Dariot, *op. cit.*, sig. D 2 v.

⁴⁴ Walkington, *op. cit.*, 116.

⁴⁵ Dariot, *op. cit.*, sig. D 2 v.

⁴⁶ Lemnius, *op. cit.*, leaf 89 v.

⁴⁷ Ferrand, *op. cit.*, 67-68; A. Laurentius, *Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight*, tr. Svrphlet, London, 1599, 118; P. Boaystuan, *Theatrum Mundi*, tr. Alday, London, 1574, 202-203.

⁴⁸ *As You Like It*, III, ii, 387.

⁴⁹ Burton, *op. cit.*, III, 2, 2, 1; Coeffeteau, *op. cit.*, 551.

⁵⁰ *As You Like It*, IV, i, 190 *et seq.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, III, ii, 275.

⁵² *Ibid.*, III, ii, 339.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, III, ii, 346 *et seq.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, III, ii, 261 *et seq.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, V, ii, 43.

⁵⁶ See the present author, "Malvolio Furioso," *R.E.S.*, about to appear.

the love of sanguine persons was like to prove "happy and full of delight";⁸⁷ and so it was with Orlando's.

The problems that modern critics find in Shakespeare often would not have troubled an Elizabethan; and, *vice versa*, the difficulties of plot and motivation that Shakespeare took pains to guard against sometimes do not appear in the perspective from which we moderns view the plays. Orlando's psychology offers a case in point, for the Elizabethans would usually have expected a youth so utterly and so hopelessly in love to have turned melancholy, and this would have cast a pall over the sprightly scenes that form the heart of the comedy. With truly artistic economy of means, Shakespeare justified at once Orlando's love at first sight and his continued hopefulness and the fortunate outcome required of comedy, by making his hero sanguine and jovial, for such men were gifted with the "greatest fortune";⁸⁸ and so, just as the stars crossed with ill omen the destinies of Romeo and Juliet, so Orlando's love was fated to success, no matter how slight his efforts. Our concept of love is different; we have forgotten the four humors and the seven planetary influences, and so we do not at once recognize Orlando as the sanguine type, and so miss the motivation of the plot and see the play as an unjustified succession of romantic episodes.

Shakespeare but rarely presents the sanguine man, perhaps because it was a fair-weather humor little suited to the stress and strain of dramatic crisis. It belonged to the charming and easily successful, not to those struggling under the fardels of misfortune or of high responsibility; generally even his lovers show more or less a melancholy cast; and, if Orlando had been obliged to struggle toward his goal, he doubtless would have changed to melancholy. He is a simple humor-type, and runs true to form without a discordant note, quite in contrast to those complex personalities who, like Shylock,⁸⁹ were born under one humor, and by force of circumstances are bent to another. He presents in the end the placid poise of a mind at peace with the world, because the world had been kind and allowed it to fulfil its inner urge without so great an effort as to warp the feelings or distort the personality: Orlando indeed is Fortune's minion.

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⁸⁷ Ferrand, *op. cit.*, ed. 1645, 93.

⁸⁸ Dariot, *op. cit.*, sig. C v 4; Lemnius, *op. cit.*, leaves 86 v and 87 v.

⁸⁹ See the present author, "The Psychology of Shylock," *Bull. Hist. Med.*, VIII, 643 *et seq.*

HAZLITT ON SYSTEMATIC IN CONTRAST TO FAMILIAR COMPOSITION

By STEWART C. WILCOX

In his essay "On Genius and Common Sense" William Hazlitt defends his method of setting down concrete observations and sporadic brilliancies in the familiar way that his talents were adapted to handling and contrasts this method with the procedure used in writing systematically expounded articles:

I was once applied to, in a delicate emergency, to write an article on a difficult subject for an Encyclopedia, and was advised to take time and give it a systematic and scientific form, to avail myself of all the knowledge that was to be obtained on the subject, and arrange it with clearness and method. I made answer that as to the first, I had taken time to do all that I ever pretended to do, as I had thought incessantly on different matters for twenty years of my life; that I had no particular knowledge of the subject in question, and no head for arrangement; and that the utmost I could do in such a case would be, when a systematic and scientific article was prepared, to write marginal notes upon it, to insert a remark or illustration of my own (not to be found in former Encyclopedias) or to suggest a better definition than had been offered in the text. There are two sorts of writing. The first is compilation. . . . The second sort proceeds on an entirely different principle. Instead of bringing down the account of knowledge to the point at which it has already arrived, it professes to start from that point on the strength of the writer's individual reflections; and supposing the reader in possession of what is already known, supplies deficiencies, fills up certain blanks, and quits the beaten road in search of new tracts of observation or sources of feeling.¹

In neither Howe's *Life of Hazlitt* nor in the *Centenary Edition* edited by him is it pointed out that this discussion goes back to the correspondence which took place in 1818 between the essayist and Macvey Napier, editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* supplements. The following letter from Hazlitt to Napier reveals what "delicate emergency" Hazlitt is referring to in the foregoing passage.

Winterslow Hut, near Salisbury
August 26, 1818

I am sorry to be obliged . . . to decline the flattering offer [to write an article on the drama for the third volume of the *Supple-*

¹ "On Genius and Common Sense," *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt*, ed. P. P. Howe (London, 1930-4), viii, 47-8 (first published in *Table-Talk*, 1821).

ment of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*] you make me. . . . To get up an article in a Review on any subject of general literature is quite as much as I can do without exposing myself. The object of an *Encyclopædia* is, I take it, to condense and combine all the facts relating to a subject, and all the theories of any consequence already known or advanced. Now, where the business of such a work ends, is just where I begin, that is, I might perhaps throw in an idle speculation or two of my own, not contained in former accounts of the subject, and which would have very little pretensions to rank as scientific. I know something about Congreve, but nothing at all of Aristophanes, and yet I conceive that the writer of an article on the *Drama* ought to be as well acquainted with the one as the other. . . .

I remain, Dear Sir,

Your very respectful and obliged humble servant,
W. Hazlitt²

Although Hazlitt discusses familiar style in various places, he seldom mentions his method. His remarks to Napier, therefore, are of interest, for they show that by 1818 he had come to realize what type of writing best suited his talents. He had published his first collection of essays, *The Round Table*, the previous year and two years later was to hit his finest vein in his longer personal pieces. His letter shows that by 1818 he had become fully aware of the importance of conversational informality and that he was thereafter determined to avoid doing systematic essays like the article on "The Fine Arts" he had done in 1816 for Napier and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

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² This letter is quoted by Howe (*Life of Hazlitt*, pp. 264-5), who observes that "The subject of the *Drama*, which Hazlitt here declined, was offered to Sir Walter Scott, who wrote the article under that head in the third volume of the Supplement." Apparently Napier's letter to which Hazlitt is replying has not survived.

ROSSETTI'S *THE LEAF*

By PAUL F. BAUM

In 1869 Rossetti translated a little poem, which he called *The Leaf*. He did not print it, however, in the volume then preparing, but held it over until the volume of 1881, where it appears among the translations, with "*Leopardi*" as subtitle. About this little poem a number of confusing statements have collected.

William Michael Rossetti, in his final edition of his brother's works (1911), said: "The lyric, as given by Leopardi, is only a translation from the French of Millevoie." This is not only ambiguous, but erroneous; and it is the more curious because in 1909 he had written to Mr. Guthrie: "In the editions of my brother's poems, published by me with notes, the fact about Arnault is mentioned." In the notes to the 1886 edition, however, there is nothing on *The Leaf*, but the edition of 1894 contains the following statement (ii, 518): "THE LEAF.—LEOPARDI.—Thus entitled in my brother's own volume. But the lyric, as given by Leopardi, is only a translation from the French of Arnault" [*sic*]. This is certainly imper-spicious. It leaves us to guess what is meant by "my brother's own volume," and it does not tell us whether or not Rossetti knew that Leopardi's poem was a version of a French poem. But it is (almost) correct in the name of the French poet.

Mr. Geoffrey L. Bickersteth, in the notes to his edition of Leopardi (1923), described the Italian poem, which Leopardi called *Imitazione*, as "a close translation of *La Feuille*, written for a lady's album at the end of 1815 by A. V. Arnault 'de l'ancien Institut de France.'" Arnault's verses were at once published and became very popular. Mr. Bickersteth added simply that the original had been translated into English by Rossetti. In the same year Professor A. E. Trombly—independently and without reference to W. M. Rossetti's notes—showed in *M. L. N.*, xxxviii (1923), 116-18, that Rossetti's translation was closer to the French of Arnault than to the Italian, and suggested that Rossetti, finding the original in the notes to his edition of Leopardi, had chosen to render the original directly.¹

Meanwhile, in an article on "Translation: A Method for the Vital Study of Literature" in 1909,² (unnoted by Mr. Bickersteth and Mr. Trombly) Mr. William N. Guthrie examined the three versions and came to some interesting conclusions. The allusions of

¹ I have not been able to discover such an edition, but Professor Trombly is explicit: "having found the Italian poem in an edition of Leopardi, he [Rossetti] found the French original in the footnotes (as I find it in the edition before me) . . ." (p. 118).

² *The Sewanee Review*, xvii, 309 ff., 385 ff.; section v, "A Curious Instance," 399-404, followed by a letter and notes from W. M. Rossetti.

Arnault's little allegory—Napoleon being the oak, Waterloo the storm, Hortense the rose, and the poet himself the leaf—were omitted by Leopardi; but Rossetti, rendering "conception by conception, not phrase by phrase," and unacquainted with the French verses, "restored almost absolutely from a translation an original poem which he did not know existed." This, says Mr. Guthrie, is "but a most striking exemplification of the process of true translation." It is indeed. For in a letter to Mr. Guthrie, 14 May 1909, W. M. Rossetti had said plainly (the italics are not mine): "my brother, *knowing nothing about the French original* by Arnault, *translated the lines from Leopardi's Italian*, and assigned them to Leopardi." And William Michael might be expected to know.

The three versions have twice already been printed together, but since they are short and only a close examination of them will reveal their relations, I venture to quote them once more.

"De la tige détachée,	Lungi dal proprio ramo,
Pauvre feuille desséchée,	Povera foglia frale,
Où vas-tu?"—Je n'en sais rien.	Dove vai tu? Dal faggio
L'orage a brisé ^a le chêne	Là dov'io nacqui, mi divise
Qui seul était mon soutien.	il vento.
De son inconstante haleine,	Esso, tornando, a volo
Le zéphyr ou l'aquilon	Dal bosco alla campagna,
Depuis ce jour me promène	Dalla valle mi porta alla
De la forêt à la plaine,	montagna
De la montagne au vallon.	Seco perpetuamente
Je vais où le vent me mène,	Vo pellegrina, e tutto l'altro
Sans me plaindre ou m'effrayer;	ignoro.
Je vais où va toute chose,	Vo deve ogni altra cosa,
Où va la feuille de rose	Dove naturalmente
Et la feuille de laurier.	Va la foglia di rosa,
	E la foglia d'alloro.

"Torn from your parent bough,
 Poor leaf all withered now,
 Where go you?" "I cannot tell.
 Storm-stricken is the oak-tree
 Where I grew, whence I fell.
 Changeful continually,
 The zephyr and hurricane
 Since that day bid me flee
 From deepest woods to the lea,
 From highest hills to the plain.
 Where the wind carries me
 I go without fear or grief:
 I go whither each one goes,
 Thither the leaf of the rose
 And thither the laurel-leaf."

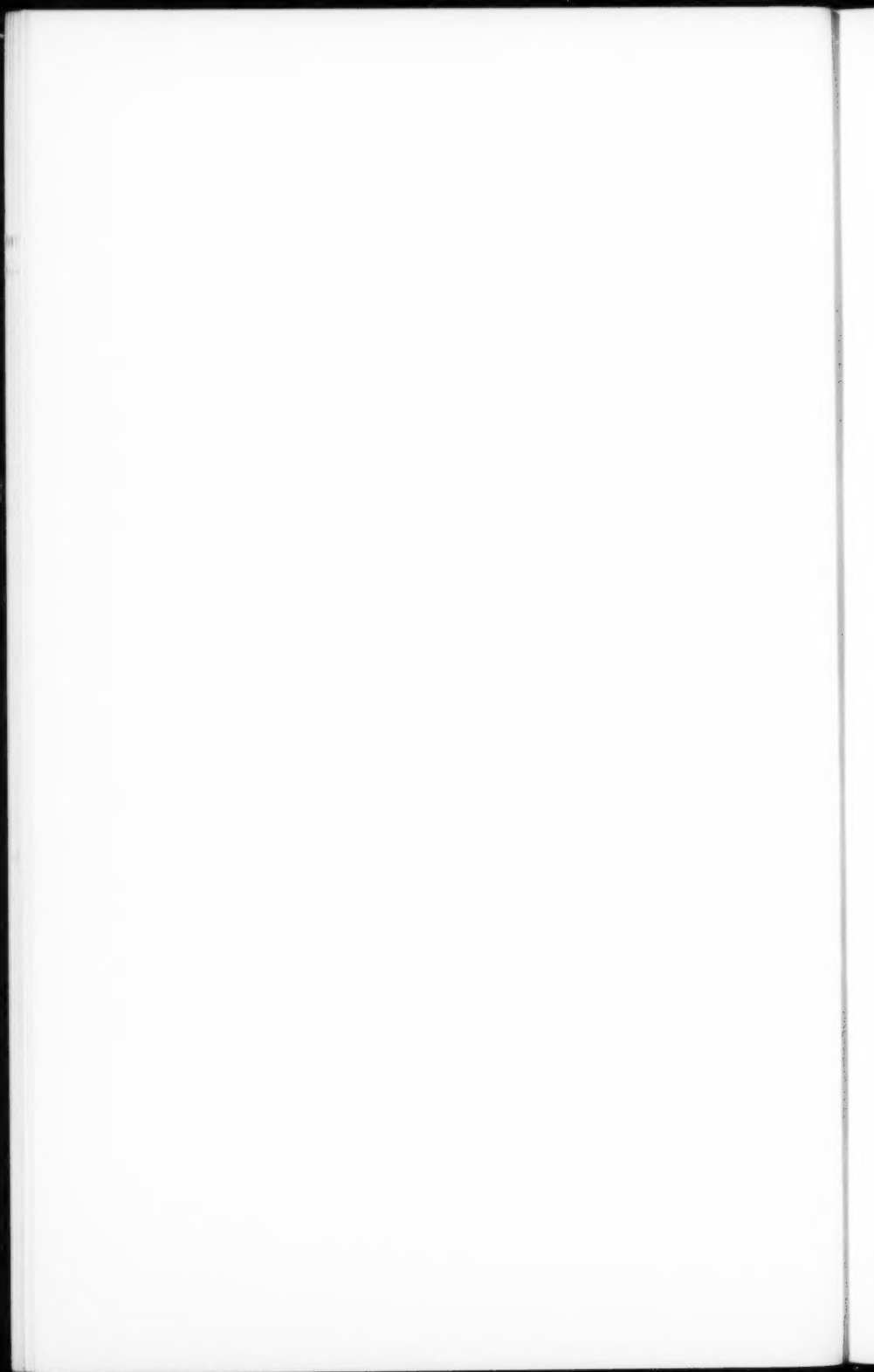
^a Some texts read "frappé."

It will be seen that in two places Rossetti's version is closer to Leopardi's than to the original: his "parent" suggests Leopardi's "proprio," for which there is only Arnault's "ta"; and "Where I grew" is more like "Là dov'io naqui" than "Qui seul était mon soutien." Moreover, there are two details in Leopardi which are not in either Rossetti or the French: the idea of "pellegrina" and the "naturalmente"; and the French and Italian agree in "toute chose" and "ogni altra cosa" against Rossetti's "each one." On the other hand, Rossetti's "Torn" represents "détachée," for which there is no equivalent in the Italian; "withered" translates "desséchée," but not "frale"; "I cannot tell" translates "Je n'en sais rien," which Leopardi omits; Rossetti's fourth line from the end translates the French, which has no equivalent in the Italian; and his "oak-tree," Arnault's "le chêne," instead of Leopardi's "faggio," is particularly significant. Finally, "zephyr and hurricane" follows the French, where Leopardi has only "tornando"; and "From the highest hills to the plain" translates the French, whereas Leopardi has "Dalla valle . . . alla montagna." In view therefore of the closeness, often literal, of Rossetti's version to the French, where the French and Italian differ, and of the striking agreement on the kind of tree, it is very difficult not to believe that Rossetti had the French poem before him, though this is in direct contradiction to his brother's statement. At the same time, there is no reason to suppose, though the English and Italian have no crucial similarities as against the French, that Rossetti did not also have Leopardi's text before him. His reason for naming Leopardi and not Arnault is difficult to guess, unless he merely chose the better-known name.

William Michael's slip in 1911 is, however, readily accounted for. Charles-Hubert Millevoye in 1811 submitted a poem of forty-four lines called *La Chute des Feuilles* to the Académie des Jeux Floraux of Toulouse and was awarded a prize for it. And this leaf poem became likewise very popular. W. M. Rossetti confused it with Arnault's. Sainte-Beuve in 1837 said that everyone knew the poem by heart, and related also that he had recently learned of its having been translated into Russian, thence into English by a Dr. Bowring, and then cited by a French critic as an illustration of the melancholy of a Northern poet.⁴ Thus have the winds of error blown about both The Leaf of Arnault and The Leaves of Millevoye.

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⁴I hesitate to add another gust to the confusion, but I surmise that Sainte-Beuve's Docteur Bowring was the versatile Sir John Bowring, who enjoys nine columns in the *D.N.B.* and who translated three volumes of Slavic poetry between 1827 and 1832.



THE BESTIARY AND THE MEDIAEVAL MIND— SOME COMPLEXITIES

By GROVER CRONIN, JR.

It is the purpose of this paper to indicate some complexities in the study of the Bestiary which seem to be frequently and surprisingly overlooked. Though much valuable work has been done on various individual questions connected with the Bestiary,¹ one cannot escape the suspicion that the more general aspects of interpretation have been unwarrantably simplified. A very recent investigator, for example, has recorded this summary view:

From the second half of the second century A.D. some Christian preachers and writers employed an allegorical method in interpreting the Holy Scriptures and supporting church doctrine, and for this purpose the current legends about animals were peculiarly adapted. The interpreters were not concerned with the truth or falsity of these legends, but only with their suitability for drawing instructive analogies with moral or religious ideas.²

¹ This is not the place for a bibliography of Bestiary studies. A valuable one, incidentally, was published some years ago by Max F. Mann in a series of articles in *Anglia Beiblatt*: X (1900), 274-287; XII (1901), 13-23; XIII (1902), 18-19. Much important work has been done since. But here it should suffice simply to call attention, with a few specimens, to the nature and variety of the research devoted to the Bestiary: The standard history of the Alexandrian *Physiologus* is Fr. Lauchert's *Geschichte des Physiologus* (Strassburg, 1889). Lately a new investigation of this sort has appeared: Max Wellman's "Der Physiologus. Eine religionsgeschichtlich-naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung," *Philologus*, Supplement, band XXI (1930), 1-116. Practically all historians of mediaeval art speak of the influence of the Bestiaries on that art. Particularly notable are the articles of G. C. Druce entitled "The Mediaeval Bestiaries and their Influence on Ecclesiastical Decorative Art," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, XXV (1919), 41-82, XXVI (1920), 35-79. Various Bestiary figures have been subjected to detailed scrutiny. A very good example of this type of research is Odell Shepard's *The Lore of the Unicorn* (Boston, 1930). Bestiary manuscripts are discussed by M. R. James in the introduction to his Roxburghe Club edition of Bestiary, MS Cambridge University Library li.4.26 (Oxford, 1928)—a study which supplants the list of MSS in Mann's "Der Physiologus des Philipp von Thaün und seine Quellen," *Anglia* VII (1884), 443-446. The relation of the Bestiary to scientific thought in the Middle Ages naturally comes into Lynn Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Vols. I and II (New York, 1923). Students of preaching have called attention to the importance of Bestiary material in the sermon literature. See, e.g., G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1933).

² P. A. Robin, *Animal Lore in English Literature* (London, 1932), p. 7. Inasmuch as this paper is concerned with Bestiary material in general and not with the *Physiologus* proper, it does not seem necessary here to comment on the problem of the date of the *Physiologus* or on the problem of its allegedly heretical elements. However, in passing, it may be noted that James considers the author old-fashioned rather than heretical (*The Bestiary* . . . , p. 4).

This seems to be almost a tradition rather than an isolated opinion. Not so many years ago James Carlill ventured the following generalization:

During all the centuries which separated Galen from Galileo facts, as such, ceased to have any importance for the human mind. No one took the least interest in ascertaining how anything happened.³

The evidence collected by Thorndike in his *History of Magic and Experimental Science* and by Haskins in *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* is enough to indicate a most unfortunate lack of interest in fact, as such, on the part of Mr. Carlill. Even historians of science who take a particularly dark view of the earlier mediaeval centuries⁴ would reject Carlill's extension of the gloom to Galileo's time. Perhaps such criticism is not particularly relevant, however, for Carlill is obviously thinking exclusively in terms of the Bestiary material, and seems merely to be repeating the presumably incontestable opinion of E. P. Evans:

In the hands of Christian teachers it was made wholly subordinate to hermeneutical and homiletical purposes, and became a mere treatise on theology, interspersed with pious exhortation.⁵

The unwarranted simplicity⁶ in this view of the Bestiary is immediately betrayed by the introduction of hermeneutics. The naturally close relations between symbolism and scriptural interpretation are even closer with regard to the Bestiary, for much of this strange lore derives from Biblical accounts of creation. All students of the Bestiary admit this, and it is therefore all the more surprising to find in many of them the assumption that facts did not matter to the early authors of Biblical commentaries, especially of the Hexaëmeron type. It is quite true, and scarcely a matter for

³ *The Epic of the Beast* (London and New York, 1927), p. 157.

⁴ E.g., C. Singer, *From Magic to Science* (London, 1928).

⁵ *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture* (New York, 1896), p. 56. I do not mean to suggest that Carlill has read Evans. As a Bestiary student, it is highly likely that he has, but I have no evidence of a convincing sort. Here I am merely pointing out that Carlill's amazingly wild generalization is really nothing but an infelicitous repetition of a traditional attitude, aptly illustrated by this quotation from Evans. Furthermore, it is not necessary, I presume, in this paper to pause to consider why a man of Evans' wide reading in mediaeval literature should confuse serious theological speculation and the literature of instruction—an interesting enough question naturally prompted by the cited passage.

⁶ I have been confining myself, of course, to the general interpretations of the *Physiologus* and Bestiary material. Presumably many of the scholars who have clarified individual points have not shared these sweeping views. Their silence, however, gives some justification to the present study.

wonder, that the perception of meaning, the perception of the connection of the isolated fact with more cosmic problems, held a higher place in the hierarchy of values than did the observance of single facts. But it is not true that this kind of subordination implied any contempt for the fact, as such.⁷

The Bestiary problem is rendered complex, however, by the tendency of *some* patristic writers to adopt or to come near this contemptuous attitude toward fact which Bestiary interpreters have often tried to foist on *all* early Christians who touched on natural history. It is well known, for example, that Origen was dangerously prone to belittle the literal truth of Scripture.⁸ And at times Basil was prone to inveigh against the folly and futility of secular knowledge.⁹ Basil, however, serves very well to illustrate the real complexity of the problem of symbolism. Lynn Thorndike remarks:

while Basil may affirm that the edification of the church is his sole aim and interest, it is evident that his audience are possessed by a lively scientific curiosity, and that they wish to hear a great deal more about natural phenomena than Isaiah or any other Biblical author has to offer them. "What trouble you have given me in my previous discourses," exclaims Basil in his fourth homily, "by asking me why the earth was invisible, why all bodies are naturally endued with color, and why all color comes under the sense of sight? And perhaps my reason did not seem sufficient to you. . . . Perhaps you will ask me new questions." Basil gratifies this curiosity concerning the world of nature with many details not mentioned in the Bible but drawn from such works as Aristotle's *Meteorology* and *History of Animals*.¹⁰

It is clear that Basil's audience had a lively interest in this world, and no less clear that Basil made an honest effort to supply his hearers with secular information as well as edification.

⁷ The quotation from Evans used above does not clearly show this implication, but the whole tenor of his book is such as to leave no doubt on the matter.

⁸ Origen, "De Principiis," *Origenes Werke* (ed. Paul Koetschau), Vol. V in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, 1913), Vol. XXII. It has not been sufficiently pointed out, in connection with the Bestiary, that stress on the symbolic meaning may well manifest a scientific skepticism. Cf.: "Si vero etiam de impossibilibus legibus requirendum est, invenimus tragelafum dici animal, quod subsistere omnino non potest, quod inter munda animalia etiam edi iubet Moyses, et grifum, quem nullus unquam meminit vel audivit humanis manibus potuisse succumbere, manducari prohibet legislator. . . . Haec ne requirenda quidem arbitrantur de tragelafis et grifo et vulture, fabulas autem quasdam inanes et frivolas commentantur." Origen, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-6.

⁹ Lynn Thorndike, *op. cit.*, I, 485.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 485-6.

Perhaps Miss Dunbar is guilty of some exaggeration when she writes of mediaeval symbolism:

the question is never of "either—or" but always of all the meanings as true at once. The meaning on each higher level both includes and illuminates the lower, but never in any sense falsifies them.¹¹

Nevertheless, in spite of patristic diatribes against secular learning, there seems every reason to believe that the Bestiary represented secular learning as well as homiletic device, and that it was, for the most part, taken very literally, at least until the twelfth-century revival of popular preaching.¹² Isidore, Hrabanus, Bede and their fellow encyclopaedists had a homiletic purpose, but at the same time their sense of scholarship was not despicable from a purely secular point of view. They were not intent upon losing sight of this world in order to acquire an understanding of the next; rather was it their problem to acquire an understanding of the next world through the proper interpretation of the present visible world.¹³ The centuries from the sixth to the twelfth may have been dark for the history of scientific observation, but it is a mistake to interpret this fact as evidence of contempt for the content of science. It is also a grievous mistake, to stress the main contention of this paper, to neglect the force of a strong non-secular tradition. For the biggest mistake of all lies in the attempt to see even the so-called Dark Age of the Middle Ages as all of a piece.

The attitude of the encyclopaedists, however, is something of a side issue in this analysis of complexities. After the problem of hermeneutics, the next really tantalizing question concerns the relation of the Bestiary to the rhetoric of the later *artes praedicandi*.

¹¹ *Symbolism in Medieval Thought and its Consummation in the Divine Comedy* (New Haven, 1929), p. 21.

¹² Surely there is some significance in the Western treatment of the ant-lion. The more highly fanciful Eastern versions of the *Physiologus* make the ant-lion the incredible product of an ant and a lion, a creature with the fore parts of a lion and the hindquarters of an ant. The Latin Bestiaries take a more sober view and describe this intriguing insect as nothing more than a particularly ferocious ant, a "lion among ants." See G. C. Druce, "The Μυρμηκολέων or Ant-lion," *The Antiquaries Journal*, III (1923), 347-64.

¹³ It is noteworthy that this is not an exclusively Christian method or problem. H. Caplan has suggested that there are profitable results to be derived from a comparative study of Jewish and Christian hermeneutics in the Middle Ages in his "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching," *Speculum*, IV (1929), 282-90. Singer, *op. cit.*, has pointed out the relations of Seneca to this attitude.

We have abundant evidence of the methods employed by the preachers in the period of zeal following the advent of the Friars.¹⁴ We know their tricks for catching and holding attention. We know the carefulness with which they studied the problem of reaching the hearts of their auditors. We can examine the detailed instructions in their handbooks of preaching and we can read their numerous collections of *exempla*.¹⁵ Unfortunately, we cannot tell precisely what they thought of their inherited natural history. The evidence is confusing. Thomas Aquinas with philosophic solemnity warned preachers against the use of fictitious story.¹⁶ Grosseteste and Bacon and Albertus Magnus had a genuine interest in scientific fact.¹⁷ But many of the authors of the *artes praedicandi* seem to adopt a very pragmatic attitude toward science. Thus in the *Forma Praedicandi* of Robert de Basevorn we read:

Et Leo papa: Haec est virtus eloquentiae ut nihil sit tam exile quod non extollat, *nihil tam incredibile quod non dicendo praeornate probabile fiat, nihil tam horridum vel incultum quod non oratione splendescat*.¹⁸

"Nothing so unbelievable"—does this imply a lack of interest in scientific truth, such as has sometimes been ascribed to the whole history of the use of Bestiary material through the Middle Ages? In the light of the *exempla*-books it would seem so. There, admitted fables mingle promiscuously with the professed facts of natural history.¹⁹ The absence of a clear line of demarcation between them could bring about a skeptical attitude toward the old science and it does not therefore seem fanciful to see evidence of such skepticism in lines like these:

¹⁴ See, for example, G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926) and *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1933). Earlier but still eminently useful studies are: L. Bourgain, *La chaire française au XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1879); A. LeCoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au moyen âge, spécialement au XIII^e siècle* . . . (Paris, 1886); R. Cruel, *Geschichte des deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* (Detmold, 1879).

¹⁵ The best study of *exempla* is J. Th. Welter's, *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge* (Paris, 1927).

¹⁶ See H. Caplan, "A Late Medieval Tractate on Preaching," *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James Albert Winans* (New York, 1925), p. 67.

¹⁷ St. Thomas also had a respect for the claims of science. See Vincent McNabb, "St. Thomas Aquinas on the Hexameron," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 3rd series, II (1900), 225-236.

¹⁸ Th.-M. Charland, *Artes Praedicandi: Contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au moyen âge* (Ottawa, 1936), p. 248.

¹⁹ Sometimes we find fables invading the Bestiaries themselves. For some interesting examples see Kenneth McKenzie, "Unpublished Manuscripts of Italian Bestiaries," *PMLA*, XX (1905), 380-433.

Many belevyn yn þe pye
 Whan she comyð lowe or hye
 Cheteryng, and hað no reste,
 Pan sey þey we shul have geste.²⁰

However confusing and unsatisfactory the evidence, it should at least render suspicious all swift generalizations about the subordination of science to spiritual symbolism. The purely secular aspects of the Bestiary have not come in for their share of scholarly consideration. M. R. James made a valuable contribution to this sort of investigation when he observed:

Indeed, the Bestiary may be reckoned as one of the leading picture-books of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. . . . But for its pictures I do not think that the book could possibly have gained or kept any sort of popularity.²¹

It is true that this suggestion does not throw much light on the perplexed question of mediaeval credulity, but it does emphasize the possibility, too frequently overlooked in the past, of the Bestiary's having had an appeal of its own, quite independent of homiletic traditions or homiletic suitability, the appeal of the strange and the wonderful, the appeal to the imaginations of men who, whether or not concerned primarily with the heavenly kingdom, nevertheless had not ceased to dream of marvels at the far corners of the earth.

The interest of James, of course, is with the popularity of Bestiary manuscripts as shown by their relative frequency, with the popularity, that is, of symbolical zoology with the preachers, with the friars and the monks, with the few who possessed manuscripts. But the abundant use of Bestiary lore in the sermons of the period²² is, when we consider the calculating methods of the preachers, also evidence of a very remarkable popularity with the people, too. The frailties of humanity, both within the cloister and without, are admittedly such that it is difficult to conceive of the Bestiary as winning this great popularity through its moral rather than its literal appeal.

Another illustration of the purely secular use and appreciation of the Bestiary is the transference of its symbolism from religion to love, as, most notably, in Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire*

²⁰ F. J. Furnivall (ed.), *Robert Manning of Brunne's Handlyng Synne* (E.E.T.S., CXIX, 1901), p. 13.

²¹ Introduction, *The Bestiary* . . . (Oxford, 1928), p. 1.

²² Owst, *Lit. and Pulpit*, pp. 195-204.

d'Amour.²³ And what are we to deduce from the fact noted by James about one of the most illustrious of the later encyclopaedists, Vincent of Beauvais: "Much of the matter of Physiologus, without the morals, may be found in the *Speculum*"?²⁴

Still further evidence is supplied by mediaeval art. With the artists, however, we encounter still another complexity in the story of the Bestiary. What attitude did the artists themselves have toward the ancient legends, and what attitude did they generate in the people? Mâle has pointed out the extent to which the artists shared the symbolic view of the universe;²⁵ but Mâle has also scored the "mania for symbolism" on the part of earlier historians of mediaeval art and has been at some pains to underline the variety of aims and methods discernible in the art of the Middle Ages:

for the most part they (the artists) were content to be craftsmen who delighted in nature for its own sake, sometimes lovingly copying the living forms, sometimes playing with them, combining and contorting them as they were led by their own caprice.²⁶

Or as they were led by their sense of composition and the exigencies of space. The manuscript illustrations are noteworthy. In the first place, "none of our Latin Bestiaries attempt to illustrate the 'moral sense' of the text until perhaps the fourteenth century."²⁷ Then the formalism of much of the illustration should be studied. Strange pictures of strange (to say nothing of non-existent) beasts are inevitable. But how are we to explain the strange trees that form the background for so many of the illustrations?²⁸ And what of the strange drawings of beasts perfectly familiar to the illustrators? For example, in MS Harl. 4751 a sow is colored rose-red and stands stiffly suckling four little pigs reared up on their hind legs in, to borrow Druce's judicious comment, "a very uncomfortable attitude for successful alimentation."²⁹ A similar disregard for natural models is seen on a misericord in Edlesborough (Bucks.) where a frog is represented with all four feet webbed. MS Harl. 3244 has

²³ Ed. Arthur Långfors, *Mémoires de la Société Néo-Philologique*, VII (Helsingfors, 1924), 293-317. Also see J. P. Rice, "An Italian 'Bestiaire d'Amour,'" *Todd Memorial Volumes* (New York, 1930), II, 107-115.

²⁴ James, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

²⁵ Especially in his *Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century* (New York, 1913).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48. Coulton (*Art and the Reformation*, Oxford, 1928) thinks that Mâle also exaggerates the symbolism of mediaeval art.

²⁷ James, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

²⁸ See the illustrations in Cahier et Martin, *Mélanges d'Archéologie* (Paris, 1851), Vol. II, plate XXI. Also see the illustrations in James, *op. cit.* And the M.L.A. photographic facsimiles (Vol. 233—MS Harl. 3244).

²⁹ *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Ass'n.*, XXVI, 59.

a magnificently drawn but magnificently unreal bull.³⁰ The Bestiary in art has been abundantly discussed, but there is room for further study of the significance of the drawings and carvings. Such an investigation might well lead to a clearer understanding of the relative positions of artistry and credulity in the later Middle Ages.

At the moment, however, we are concerned with the secular aspects of the Bestiary representations. Lest our remarks on this score seem exaggerated it may be well to cite once more the oft-quoted denunciations of St. Bernard:

But in the cloister, under the eyes of the Brethren who read there, what profit is there in those ridiculous monsters, in that marvellous and deformed comeliness, that comely deformity? To what purpose are those unclean apes, those fierce lions, those monstrous centaurs, those half-men, those striped tigers . . .?³¹

Hippeau explained this with great elaborateness:

En se plaçant au point de vue moral, et en raisonnant d'après les principes d'une austérité qui tenait peu de compte de l'influence qu'exercent sur les esprits les enseignements qui frappent les regards, *oculis subjecta fidelibus*, l'éloquent apôtre du XII^e siècle pouvait bien condamner, dans ce qu'elles avaient d'exagéré surtout, les tendances de son époque; mais lui-même n'en était-il pas un des plus brillants interprètes dans ses commentaires sur le *Cantique de cantiques*, où il versait avec une effusian touchante toutes les tendresses de son coeur où il donnait l'essor à toutes des subtilités de son génie?³²

Surely all questions are solved by interpreting this outburst as evidence of a wholeheartedly secular, to St. Bernard perniciously secular, interest in the Bestiary.

Now still another problem intimately associated with this secularism is that of the relationship of the Bestiary to mediaeval humor. Some of the romances suggest an altogether different attitude toward the grotesque from that generally prevailing today.³³ A detailed investigation along this line might yield interesting results.

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³⁰ Fol. 47r.

³¹ Quoted by Coulton, *op. cit.*, p. 573. Migne, P.L., CLXXXII, col. 916.

³² "Le Bestiaire Divin de Guillaume, Clerc de Normandie," *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 2^e série, IX^e Vol. (Paris, 1851), pp. 340-41.

³³ See, e.g., *The Sultan of Babylon*. Florence of Worcester in the *Chronicon ex chronicis* tells a story of the devil living unrecognized in a monastery for a few days. The monks seem highly amused at their visitor's unusual and fantastic appearance. (The passage is in C. H. Beeson, *A Primer of Medieval Latin*, Chicago, 1925, pp. 238-40.)

THE NAME OF THE NORTHERN DVINA*

By ALAN S. C. ROSS

The Russian name *Dvina* (as also the German name *Düna*) is used to denote two different rivers—those at whose mouths stand Archangel and Riga. These two rivers are usually distinguished as the Northern and the Western Dvina. And it will be necessary to begin this article with some discussion of the name of the Western Dvina.

Russian *Dvina* as applied to the Western Dvina is in all probability a reformat of Liv. *vēna* "sound, wide mouth of a river" (cf. particularly Liv. *Rīgā vēna* "the wide river-mouth at Riga"; OLiv. *Vēn* "the Western Dvina" and Henry the Lett's *Veinalenses* "dwellers on the Western Dvina"); cf. also Est. *Veina-jõgi* (earlier *Wäinä*, *Wäinä-jõggi*) "the Western Dvina." This Russian reformation, it may be suggested, is due to association with an ORuss. nom. sg. fem. **dvina* "two-fold," with which cf. Lith. *dvynù* "twins" < PrIndE. **dwē-nō/-nā* (to *dwōu- dwei- dwoi- dwi-*² etc. "two"),³ by reason of the fact that the river is twofold where the island of Dahlen (Lett. *Duolet Sala*)⁴ divides it near the present town of Riga.⁵

Etymologically, Liv. *vēna* would appear to be closely related to Finn. *väinäntaimi* "*Typha latifolia*, bulrush" (a marsh-plant), *väinönputki* "angelica Archangelica [*Archangelica officinalis*], garden angelica" (a plant of moist ground) and to *Väinämöinen*, the

* Abbreviations. BF.—Baltic Fennic; E.—English; Est.—Estonian; Finn.—Finnish; Gmc.—Germanic; Icel.—Icelandic; IndE.—Indoeuropean; Ir.—Irish; Kar.—Karelian; Lat.—Latin; Lett.—Lettish; Lith.—Lithuanian; Liv.—Livonian; NKar.—Northern Karelian; Russ.—Russian; Skt.—Sanskrit; WN.—West Norse. Before names of languages: M—Middle, Mn—Modern, O—Old, Pr—Primitive.

¹ *Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptorum* t. xxiii, p. 253, line 45.

² A. Walde and J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes wörterbuch der indogermanischen sprachen*, i, 817-21.

³ Lat. *bini* may be from PrIndE. **dwē-nō/-nā*, **dwei-nō/-nā* or **dwis-nō/-nā* (= OE. *twinn* MnE. *twinn*); see A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches wörterbuch* s.v. *bini*.

⁴ [Owing to war-time conditions I have not been able to obtain detailed geological information for this and the next footnote. I am however much indebted to the kindness of Dr. V. Kiparsky (Riga) for the information here given.] There seems no doubt that the island of Dahlen is an old formation and it is mentioned (under the names of *Magna Insula*, *Insula Longa*, *Insula Regis*, *Dolen*, *Dahlholm*, etc.) from the beginning of the thirteenth century (see *Livländische Güterurkunden* I: Ortsregister).

⁵ Another possibility is that the twofoldness referred to in the reformed name of the Western Dvina lay in the fact that the river had at the time a delta with two main arms. Old sanded-up channels are still to be seen. This possibility is however less likely—there is nothing inherently twofold in a delta.

hero of Finnish folk-poetry (originally a water-god); see further E. N. Setälä, "Väinämöinen und Joukahainen," *Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia*, XXXV, xiii; K. B. Wiklund, *Le Monde Oriental*, x, 173-5; J. Rozwadowski, *Rocznik slawistyczny*, vi, 61. Rozwadowski suggests that the Baltic Fennic forms are of Indoeuropean origin: *väinā- < *dhweinā- to Skt. *dhāvati* "to flow," Mlr. *dōe* "sea," etc. (see Walde-Pokorny, *op. cit.*, i, 834). On the other hand, Wiklund regards them as due to the borrowing of a very early PrGmc. *ðweinā- to Icel. *dvína* "to dwindle," etc., before the change of *ei* > *i*.⁶ Setälä, *op. cit.*, p. 32, regards the Indoeuropean origin of the forms as highly problematical.

I may now proceed to a discussion of the difficult problem presented by the names of the Northern Dvina—viz., ORuss. *Dvina*, OWN. *Vina*, Kar. *Viena* (> Finn. *Viena*), which are obviously interrelated forms.

The Scandinavians became acquainted with the Northern Dvina—mostly its lower reaches—early in the course of their expeditions to Bjarmaland (the country of the Northern Karelians of the White Sea area).⁷ Harald Gråfeld's victory over the Bjarmar á *Vínu borði* "on the bank of the Northern Dvina" is celebrated in Stanza 5 of the Gråfeldardrápa,⁸ a poem which, according to F. Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie* (2nd ed.), i, 523-6, must be assigned to a date shortly after A.D. 970.⁹

On the other hand, the arrival of the Russians at the mouth of the Northern Dvina is put by M. Vasmer, *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1936, *Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, p. 186, at a date between A.D. 1110 and A.D. 1165. This fact alone is sufficient to show that the name of the Northern Dvina cannot be of Russian origin. So the suggestion that the word originated in Old Russian, was thence borrowed into "Bjarmian" (i.e., Old Northern Karelian) and thence into Old West Norse, must be rejected by reason of the early occurrence of the word in Old West Norse.

The ORuss. form of the name of the Northern Dvina, ORuss. *Dvina*, may safely be explained as a reformat of a form identical with OWN. *Vina*. We may suppose that the Russians, when they came into contact with the Northern Dvina, were struck by the similarity of its name, **Vina*, to that by which they knew the Western Dvina (ORuss. *Dvina*). The Northern Dvina, too, is a twofold stream, for it is formed by the confluence of the Sukhona

⁶ In Baltic Fennic initial consonant-groups are in general represented by the second consonant only; thus Finn. *tukki*: Icel. *stokkr*.

⁷ See my *Terfinnas and Beormas of Othhere*.

⁸ F. Jónsson, *Den norsk-islandske skaldedigting*, B. I, 66-7.

⁹ See also H. Koht, "Gråfelden i norsk historie," *Norsk historisk tidsskrift*, V, viii, 19-36 and A. W. Brøgger, *Nord-Norges bosetningshistorie*, p. 47.

and the Vychegda. Therefore it was natural for the Russians to notice, not only the similarity in name, but also the similarity in formation of the two rivers, though the twofold character of these is actually of different type.¹⁰

The Finnish name of the Northern Dvina, Finn. *Viena*, is doubtless borrowed from Karelian (Kar. *Viena*). The present Karelian form attests an earlier Karelian **Vēna*, since *ē* is diphthongised to *ie* in Karelian, as in Finnish; cf. Kar. *tie*, Finn. *tie*; Est. *tee*, Ingrian *tē* "way."¹¹ OKar. **Vēna* can be explained as a borrowing of the Russian form, *Dvina*. The normal representation of a Russ. *i* is admittedly *i* in Karelian and Finnish (cf. Finn. *viitta* "cloak" < Russ. *svita*¹²) but Kar. *viehkuri* < Russ. *vikhr* "whirlwind" and Finn. *miero*, Kar. *miero* "parācia, tractus ruralis, pagus" < Russ. *mir* afford parallels to Kar. *Viena* < Russ. *Dvina*. According to Mikkola, *loc. cit.*, the *ie* < *ē* in these words is due to an early change of *i* > *e* in the North Russian dialects. For this point Mikkola refers to O. Potebnja, *Dva izsledovanija o zvukakh russkago jazyka* (Voronezh, 1866),¹³ p. 75. The question, which is one of some difficulty, has been more recently discussed by A. A. Shakhmatov, *Lektsii po istorii russkago jazyka*, ii, 646-7; by A. Vasil'ev, *Izvestija otdelenija russkago jazyka i slovestnosti Akademii Nauk*, vol. VII, Knizhka 4 and by V. V. Vinogradov, *ibid.*, xxiv, 239. I am also indebted to Professor S. Obnorskij (Akademija Nauk S.S.S.R.) and to Professor R. Jakobson (recently of Brno) for information on the point. It would appear that *e* for *i* is evidenced, though only sporadically, in various North Russian dialects—in the districts of Archangel, Olonets, Vologda, Novgorod, Vjatka and Perm', less markedly in Kostroma and Jaroslavl' (cf., for example, *naberat'*, *uteral'nik*, *perog*, *istena* for standard Russ. *nabirat'* "to collect," *utiral'nik* "towel," *pirog* "pie," *istina* "truth"). It must however be admitted that, *teste* Professor Obnorskij, the Northern Dvina is nowhere today called **Dvena*. There can however be little doubt that Kar. *Viena*, *miero*, *viehkuri* are to be brought into connection with this widespread though sporadic appearance of *e* for *i* in the Northern Russian dialects.

OWN. *Vina* may thus be taken as representing the original form of the name of the Northern Dvina. The etymology of this form **Vina* now remains for discussion. There are clearly two possibilities:

1. The word may be of Germanic origin. On a *priori* grounds this suggestion does not seem very probable. Nevertheless the

¹⁰ The Northern Dvina, too, has (and had) a delta—but cf. p. 199, note 4.

¹¹ H. Ojansuu, *Karjala-aunuksen äännehistoria*, p. 98.

¹² J. J. Mikkola, *Slavische lehnwörter in den westfinnischen sprachen*, pp. 56-7.

¹³ There appears to be no copy of this work in England.

Germanic origin of the name OWN. *Bjarmar* (cf. MnE. *brim* Icel. *barmr* "edge, of a brook," etc.)¹⁴ would, on this hypothesis, afford a striking parallel. But, in any case, the suggestion of a Germanic origin for **Vina* must be rejected for there is no suitable Germanic—indeed no Indoeuropean—etymology for such a form.

2. The word may be of proximate Bjarmian, i.e., Old Northern Karelian, origin. On a *priori* grounds this is the obvious suggestion, for it is reasonable to assume that the Scandinavians took the name of a Bjarmian river from the Bjarmar themselves. The second suggestion is thus to be accepted.

We cannot however explain the name of the Northern Dvina as an ONKar. cognate of the Livonian name of the Western Dvina. For we must take the PrBF. form of the name of the Northern Dvina as **Vina*, and the PrBF. form of the name of the Western Dvina as **Väinä*. Nor is there any reason to suppose that a Bjarmian **Väinä* (< PrBF. **Väinä*) would have been altered to *Vina* by an OWN. folk-etymology.

The further discussion of the etymology of the Bjarmian name of the Northern Dvina, **Vina*, is a problem which must be left to the specialists in Finno-Ugrian etymology. In the first place it will have to be decided whether **Vina* is a true Bjarmian word or whether it was borrowed into Bjarmian either from Lappish or from Samoyede. Vasmer, *op. cit.*, §8, has produced place-name evidence which may well attest the early presence of Lapps at the mouth of the Northern Dvina and J. Markwart, *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, iv, 310 ff., would interpret a difficult section in the Muslim geographer 'Aufi as referring to Lapps in this area. And it is conceivable that there were once Samoyedes here also, doubtless at a very early date. And in the second place it will have to be decided whether **Vina* is a true Uralian¹⁵ word or whether its ultimate origin is to be sought in Indoeuropean. If we accept an Indoeuropean origin for the name of the Western Dvina, PrBF. **Väinä* (which is very doubtful), it might perhaps be suggested that **Väinä* represents a borrowing of an early PrGmc. representative of a PrIndE. **dhweinä-*, before the change of *ei* > *i*, whereas Bjarmian **Vina* represents a later borrowing of the same word from Germanic, after the change *ei* > *i* was complete. But suggestions of this type would seem to be mere piling of hypothesis on hypothesis.

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¹⁴ See my article "OWN. *Bjarmar*: Russian *Perm'*," *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages*, vi, 5-13.

¹⁵ The Finno-Ugrian and Samoyede languages together form the Uralian family.

OBSERVATIONS ON OLD PROVENÇAL STYLE AND VOCABULARY¹

By KURT LEWENT

1. A Rhetorical Figure

The stylistic phenomenon to which I want to point here, is, in a certain degree, the contrary of what is known by the expression "chiasmus." Examples of the latter phenomenon are not rare in Provençal poets. *Que chantes, si jois fos afans Ni trebalhs cortezia*, Giraut de Bornelh, Gr. 242, 31 (= Kolsen, No. 41), II, 12-13. The editor calls our attention to this passage in the second volume of his edition (p. 81), but omits to do the same for the other examples occurring in Giraut's poems: *E las penas e-ls tormens Qu'en venran, Ira Dieus amezuran, Si-lh platz, venjan e parcen, merce mescl' ab espaven*,² Gr. 242, 41 (Kolsen No. 61), VII, 11-12; *Fis contra leis e vas me quetz*, Gr. 242, 32 (Kolsen No. 32), IV, 5; *Qu'enois es grans E sobeiras folatges*, Gr. 242, 47 (Kolsen No. 42), V, 8-9; even a double chiasmus: *Qu'er es proeza dans E vergonha maleus E justa treus E paubreria folors!*, Gr. 242, 20/1 (Kolsen No. 46), III, 5-8. From other authors: *Qu'enaissi sap d'avinen far e dir ab purs plazers tot so qu'ill ditz ni fai*, Arn. Mar., Gr. 30, 22 (Johnston p. 43), II, 3-4; *Leis qu'es flor De iuvent e de ioi sabor*, Peire Raimon de Toloza, Gr. 355, 8 (Cav. p. 45), III, 2-3; *Qar en valor m'a fait estendre e poiàr en honor*,³ loc. cit., III, 8-9; *Nulh' altra no-m pot secors far ni dar guirensa*, Peire Raimon de Toloza, Gr. 355, 10 (Cav. p. 63), IV, 1-2; *Et ieu, com l'auzelletz, tremblan Esgart vas vos e-m vir garan*, Daude Pr., Gr. 124, 3 (Schutz p. 6), IV, 5-6.

If it is the nature of chiasmus to produce a contrast by parallelism in reverse order, there is another figure which exaggerates the opposite tendency, giving the attributes of different things strictly in the same order in which the latter are enumerated. A famous example of this is in Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm," II, 1: *Die Karossen, die Nachtwächter, die Trommeln, die Katzen, die Kor-*

¹ Most of the following observations have been suggested to me by two recent editions of troubadours: 1. *Le Poesie di Peire Raimon de Toloza*, ed. Alfredo Cavaliere, *Bibl. dell' Arch. Rom.* 1, 22 (Florence, 1935). 2. *Poésies du troubadour Aimeric de Belenoi*, ed. Maria Dumitrescu, *Soc. des Anc. Textes Français* (Paris, 1935). I shall quote the poets and editors with the following abbreviations: P. Raim. and Cav., Aim. Bel. and Dum.

² My interpretation of this passage differs from that of Kolsen; see my remark about it in *Zum Text der Lieder des Giraut de Bornelh*, *Bibl. dell' Arch. Rom.* 1, 26, pp. 85-86.

³ See below section 8, s.v. *estendre*.

porals—*das hört nicht auf zu rasseln, zu schreien, zu wirbeln, zu mauen, zu fluchen*. Here, the verbs follow one another in the same order as the substantives to which they refer. In this, there is no doubt a smack of the pedant and schoolmaster, and it is not astonishing that we should find some examples of it in the troubadours, who had received their rhetorical schooling, too. The following passage from Peire Raimon, Gr. 355, 1 (= Cav. p. 1), I, 1-4:

Ab son gai, plan e car
fas descort leu e bon,
avinen per chantar
e de bella razon

shows a strict parallelism established on one side between lines 1 and 3, with regard to the melody, on the other between lines 2 and 4, with regard to the contents of the poem. In Aimeric de Belenoi, Gr. 9, 17 (= Dum. VIII), I, 4-6:

. . . en Proenza
on comencet e comença
veilla valors e novella,

each of the subjects in line 6 is preceded by its verb, which stands exactly at the place which corresponds to its own, the preterite *comencet* referring to *veilla valors*, the present tense *comença* to (*valors*) *novella*. The same author has another example of this stylistic phenomenon in a passage which has been misinterpreted by the editor, because she did not recognize that form of speech. It is Gr. 9, 18 (= Dum. IX), lines 13-16:

Anar mi fai ad honor
mos rics cors anse
ses blasme e ses follor
d'autrui e de me.

She translates: . . . *sans erreur ou folie de ma part ou de la part d'autrui*. But Provençal *blasme* does not mean *erreur*, and the two parts of the sentence joined together by "and" in the last line are inverted by the translator. The poet, however, has, with the utmost correctness, assigned each of these two "genitives" to one of the corresponding substantives in the preceding line: *d'autrui* to *blasme*, and *de me* to *follor*, and we have to construe: *ses blasme d'autrui e ses follor de me*. The poet says that his upright heart makes him always love in strict honour without fearing the blame of others or committing a folly.

2. Coordination of dissimilar parts of the sentence

A long chapter could be written about that stylistic phenomenon. Only one special case, however, will be treated here, i.e., the case in which a subordinate clause and an adjunct are joined together by "and." Some examples: *Del vostre dan, amics, sui mout caitius, E quar no-m fai ma domna nulh socors*, P. Vidal, Gr. 364, 9 (Anglade p. 8), IV, 1-2; *E se-s clama car lo tinc pres Ne del mal que ma gent li fes E car lo menasei a pendre D'aisso consi-m poirai deffendre?*, Jaufre, ed. Breuer, 7159-62; *E dirai vos co-l pot ferir: Ab servir ez ab gentz parlar, Ab blandir ez ab humiliar E que-s gart de far avolessas* (. . . and by being wary of evil-doing), loc. cit., 7289-92; *Per amor del belh temps suau E quar fin' amors m'en somo, Don mos cors s'alegr' e s'esjau, Ai comensad' una chanso*, fausb. Puic., Gr. 173, 9 (Shepard p. 28), I, 1-2; *E per so dic que mespren E car encolpatz no-m sen Giraut de Bornelh*, Gr. 242, 48 (Kolsen No. 24), I, 10-11; *Per un joy que m'alezera Estau en bon' aventura E car a totz jorns esmera La belh' on mos cors s'atura*, Raim. Mir., Gr. 406, 35 (Kolsen, Arch. Rom. 21, 310), III, 1-3; *Pe-l sobretalan qu'es braus E quar ma voluntatz brava M'a fag falhir, tot desnud Ab la vostra verja nuda M'en batetz lo cors e-l cor Aimeric de Belenoi (?)*, Gr. 9, 5 (Dum. p. 132), III, 5-6.

The knowledge of that stylistic phenomenon can perhaps help us to throw some light on another passage of the last poet which offers some difficulties to our comprehension. Aimeric says in Gr. 9, 17 (= Dum. VIII), lines 12 ff.:

12. Per paor n'ai estat
d'una douz' amor coral
que m'aucizes, non per al;
15. e pos, tant m'agença
(si tot no-n aus far parvença),
que de lai tro en Castella
18. non trop neguna tam bella
que mi get del cor sa faicho.

First, a little remark concerning the *del* of the last line, which the editor has substituted for the original reading of the manuscript: *al*. The sense got by this correction is no doubt excellent. But we must avoid correcting manuscripts if we can understand the text without it. This is the case here. Whereas Miss Dumitrescu sees in *sa faicho* the image of the beloved lady, it can also be considered as that of the *neguna tam bella* of line 18. So the poet wants to say that he can nowhere find a lady, however beautiful she may be, whose image might be implanted in his heart (banishing that of his lady from it). The various figurative ways in which the verb *gitar* is employed in Old Provençal make that interpretation quite natural.

Now for the phenomenon which is the topic of this chapter. In the note to line 15, the editor declares that, instead of the *e pos* of the text, we ought to expect *pero*, and she translates accordingly: *cependant*. Suchier, the first editor of that poem (Denkmäler I, 324), puts a comma after *al* (line 14) instead of Miss Dumitrescu's semicolon and changes *e* (line 15) into *mas*. Miss Dumitrescu, it is true, asserts that this correction is of no use; but she is mistaken. For, doubtless, Suchier joined *al* (line 14) and *mas* together, understanding the passage as follows: "for no other reason than because she pleases me so very much." Both these interpretations are satisfactory, but they are not based on the manuscript. So I am of the opinion that, here again, an adjunct (*per al*) and a subordinate clause (*pos tan m'agença*) have been coordinated by the poet.⁴ I further propose to change the punctuation a little: to cancel the parenthesis of line 16 and to put a semi-colon after *parvença* (line 16). Then *Que* (line 17) would be employed as the causal conjunction "for" and *tant* (line 15) in an absolute sense: "very much." Consequently, we translate the passage as follows: "I have gone away from a sweet and heartfelt love, for nothing else but for being afraid that it might kill me and because it pleases me so very much, though I do not dare to reveal it. For, from there to Castile, I do not find, etc." The reasons given by the poet for keeping himself away from his lady will surprise the reader at the first moment. But they find an explanation in stanza IV, where the poet states that it is quite unbearable for him to be in the neighbourhood of his lady and, according to her command, not to see her. Thus, it is just because she pleases him so much (line 15) that he is afraid of dying in her neighbourhood.

3. Lexicographical Remarks

anar, "to become." In Aimeric's poem, Gr. 9, 19 (= Dum. XXI), lines 15-18, we read the following passage:

Fraire! Per pauc loncs acorz
no nos fez trop tart assire:
tan tost deu hom far con dire
lo ben, c'ades *velha* morz.

Instead of *velha* the two manuscripts have *vai hom*. The correction was introduced by the first editor of the poem, Lowinsky, and Miss Dumitrescu as well as Stimming and Appel in their editions of Bertran de Born followed him in this. But an attempt ought to be

⁴Lavaud (*Ann. du Midi*, 49, 312) comes to a similar conclusion as to the construction of the sentence.

made at preserving the reading of the two manuscripts, so much the more as they seem to be independent of each other (cf. Dum. p. 52). For this purpose, I refer to a note of Levy in *Litbl.* IV, 317, in which he pointed to a passage from Arnaut Daniel: *Per o eis van maint pretz destrug*. Here, the word *anar* evidently has—like its opposite verb *venir*—the sense of “to become,” and though Arnaut’s editor Canello did not adopt that version for the text established by him, the version does exist and can hardly be explained otherwise than as by Levy. So we are authorized to interpret our example in a similar way with: “to become dead,” i.e., “to be doomed to die.” In this connection, it must be remembered that the German language, too, combines *gehen* (to go) with a participle perfect or an adjective, e.g., *verloren gehen*, *verlustrig gehen*, *bankrott gehen*, *entzwei gehen*. Finally, I quote a passage from a poem attributed to Aimeric de Belenoi, Gr. 9, 11 (= Dum. XVIII), lines 50-52:

E quan de vos mi coven a partir,
non pres un ou tot lo contat d’Angeus,
anz voil *anar* per vostr’ amor romeus,

which the meaning “to become” for *anar* would fit excellently, even better than “to go.” At any rate, examples like this show how the meaning of *anar* has developed from “to go” to “to become.”

atendre, “to observe, to cultivate, to honour.” In Gr. 355, 5 (= Cav. No. IV), lines 12-14, Peire Raimon says:

Car ben conosc per us atge
que lai on amors s’aten
val foudatz en luoc de sen.

Here, we have clearly to do with one of those rather numerous remarks of the troubadours concerning the *foudat* (*folor*) *d’amor*, the “folly of loving.” But what is the exact meaning of *on amors s’aten*? Cavaliere translates: *dove amore pone le sue speranze*; he evidently sees in the adverb *lai* a designation of the poet’s lady, which is quite possible. But it is not in her that the *foudatz* is presumed to dwell, but in the lover. Therefore I am inclined to consider the reflexive verb *sé atender* as a middle voice verb and to give *atendre* the sense of “to cultivate, to honour.” To support my opinion, I refer to Levy, *Arch.* 142, 266, where in a passage from Bertran de Born, he proposes “to wait on” and to his *Pet. Dict.*, where he offers the meaning “to give attention to.” The same sense is in English “to attend,” and Old French *atendre* means “to observe, to keep (an arrangement).” Moreover in the same poem, Peire says (lines 56-59):

Chanssos, ab port d'alegratge,
on pretz e valors s'aten,
al rei, que sap et enten,
m'iras en Aragon dire. . . .

Here, the editor offers this rather colourless translation: *dove si trovano merito e valore*, without giving any further explanation in the notes as to what the verb *atendre* may really mean in our passage. Here, too, we have, in my opinion, to do with the same middle voice use of the verb as in line 13. I therefore translate the latter: "where love^s is observed (cultivated, honoured)" and line 57: "where worth and greatness are cultivated (honoured)."

atraire: 1. "to cause someone to do something." 2. "to lead someone towards another."

1. In Gr. 355, 6 (= Cav. V, lines 42-3), Peire Raimon says

. . . q'a fin' amor m'atrais
vostre bel cors, don me lau de chausir.

Following Crescini, the editor changes *qar fin' amors* of the only manuscript into *q'a fin' amor* and translates: *chè a perfetto amore mi atrasse le vostra bella persona, per cui mi lodo di sapere apprezzare*. The sense of the relative clause is rather obscure. Moreover, a correction of the reading of the manuscript is not necessary, and Anglade was much nearer the right interpretation in translating: *Car amour parfait m'a entraîné à remarquer votre beau corps, choix dont je me loue*. We construe the passage thus: *Qar fin' amors m'atrais de chausir vostre bel cors, don me lau* and translate: "For noble love caused me to choose your beautiful body, which pleases me (so very much)." We then give the word *atraire* the sense of "to cause (someone to do something)" which, it is true, has not yet been exemplified in Old Provençal, but is easily derived from its original meaning "to attract." Moreover, Tobler-Lommatzsch I, 653, 1 ff., gives some examples for *atraire aucun a aucune rien*, i.e., with two substantives as complements. Though this construction does not exactly correspond to that of our passage, the sense of *atraire* is the same in both cases. As is to be seen from the translation given here, I am of the opinion that the relative clause *don me lau* has nothing to do with the following *de chausir*, as Cavaliere and, probably, Anglade supposed, but forms one *syntagma* with *vostra bel cors*; for if *de chausir* belonged to that relative clause, the text ought to be *que (not don) me lau de chausir*.

2. The word *atraire* shows another sense in the following passage of the same author (Gr. 355, 13 [= Cav. XI], line 19):

^s I.e., its laws; cf. line 21: *si-l dreich d'amor voil seguir*.

E pus fin' amors la m'atray,
per dreyt no m'en deu venir dans.

Anglade saw in *la* the personal pronoun "her," Cavaliere thinks *la* to be *lai* "there." I can only approve of Anglade's opinion. For me the sense of the passage is that noble love leads the lady towards the poet. This conception is supported by the reading *lei* of three of the manuscripts, whereas *lai* is in none of them. As to this special sense of the verb *atraire*, I refer to Giraut de Bornelh, Gr. 242, 34 (= Kolsen No. 23), V, 22: *Que m men' e m'atrai Los bous Bertalai* (Kolsen, II, glossary: *zuführen*) and to Raïmb. de Vaq., Gr. 392, 9 (Appel, *Chrestomathie* 6, No. 52, line 8): *plazer novelh qu'amors m'atraya* (Appel, glossary: *herbeiführen*).

aver cor, see *cor*; *aver vezat*, see my article "Old Provençal Miscellany," No. 1 in *Modern Language Review*.

benestansa, "good conduct." Aimeric de Belenoi says in Gr. 9, 8 (= Dum. X), that there is nothing extraordinary in a man's helping a friend who is happy. Then he continues (lines 5-7):

Mas qui l'amic als grans ops acorria,⁶
aïssó: m parri' esfortz e benestansa,
e seria complida amistansa.

Miss Dumitrescu renders *benestansa* with *bonheur* in the translation as well as in the glossary. This word, however, does not fit here, either in general or in conjunction with *esfortz*, with which it is coordinated. This coordination makes us expect an action which, like *esfortz*, is performed by him who helps his friend in distress. Therefore, I should like to translate it with "decent behaviour, good conduct." It would indeed be strange if the word *benestansa*, which is so nearly related to *benestar* and *benestan*, should not have had the meaning indicated here.

com, "in order that." Levy, in his edition of Guilhem Figueira (note to 6, 46), states that this sense of *com* is rare in Old Provençal. So I think it suitable to point to some more examples of that use of *com*. Arn. de Marueil, Gr. 30, 10 (Johnston p. 100), I, 8 says: *E tota la nœg serena Chanta-l rossinhols e-l jais; Quecx auzel en son lenguatge, Per la frescor del mati, Van menan joi d'agradatge, Com quecx ab sa par s'aizi*. The editor translates the last line with *comme il s'ébat avec sa compagne*, but he seems not to have taken into account that *aizi* is a subjunctive. So I think that "in order that" is the only suitable translation. The editor of Aimeric de Belenoi apparently recognizes that sense of *com* in the following lines of her poet (Gr. 9, 4 [= Dum. II], lines 9 ff.): *Contra-l*

⁶ The text shows *acoria* (misprint).

vostre cors qu'es complitz De totz bes mas sol de merce, M'esfortz cum l'aguessetz⁷ de me En vos servir, for she translates: *je lutte de toutes mes forces, en vous servant, pour obtenir que vous ayez pitié de moi*, but she unfortunately does not mark that meaning in the glossary. Another passage by the same author requires some discussion. He says (Gr. 9, 20 [= Dum. XI], lines 25-30):

- Donc may
no say
27. *quom ieu⁸ la remire:*
querray
retray
30. *quo·l sia jauzire.*

Donc (line 25), marking a conclusion, has no sense in connection with *no say*, because the poet has just said that he who does not like "joy" is wrong. So I should like to connect it with *querray* (line 28) and see in *may no say quom ieu la remire* a causal clause: "as I do not know how to look at her." But what is *retray*? Miss Dumitrescu is right in saying that the Provençal dictionaries do not give a meaning of this word satisfactory for our case. The editor proposes "means."⁹ But how should the word have come to that sense? She evidently came to this interpretation because she needed a word on which the indirect question *quo·l sia jauzire* might depend. But is that really the syntactical value of this subordinate clause? Here, again, I should like to translate *com* with "in order that." Consequently I do not hesitate to give the word *retray* the same sense as Old French *retrait*, i.e., *retraite*, *lieu où on se retire* (Godefroy VII, 156; cf. Levy, *SWB*, VII, 298, *retracha*, "refuge"). The idea expressed in those lines would then be the following: As the poet is not allowed to see the beloved lady, he intends to retire to a lonely place in order to enjoy her (at least in his thoughts).¹⁰ This interpretation is justified by what follows: *Qu'al sieu pays Estau acis Mos mas jonhs ambedos.*

can, "unless," see *tro que*.

cor, "intention, inclination," in *aver cor*. In No. IV (Gr. 355, 5) of his edition of Peire Raimon, Cavaliere gives line 47 in the

⁷ The words *cum l'aguessetz* ought to be put in commas.

⁸ By this word, the editor tries to supply the syllable omitted by the writer of the manuscript. But it would perhaps be better to supply *ja*, because the similarity of the two words *ja* and *la* makes the scribe's omission plausible from the palaeographic point of view.

⁹ Lavaud (*Ann. du Midi*, 49, 313) tries to support this translation by pointing to Levy, *SWB*, VII, 297, 3, "decision."

¹⁰ The *·l* in *co·l sia jauzire* is a little surprising, and the editor is right in saying that we ought to expect *·n*. Was there perhaps *noi* in the original text (corrupted into *nol*), with *i*, "there," referring to *retray* (line 29)?

following form: *Be-m n'agr'a cor de partir*. But the expression is *aver cor* (not *aver a cor*), to which already Kolsen pointed in *Arch.* 168, 259; it is proved by VI (Gr. 355, 7), line 41: *E si cor m'a a pro tenir* and by Old French: *N'ont cuer de François plus desdire* (Tobler-Lommatzsch II, 1115, 52). Whereas *aver cor* is not yet to be found in the Provençal dictionaries, another, synonymous expression, *aver en cor*, "to plan," is better known, and some manuscripts show it instead of *aver cor* in both the passages quoted here.

cortil, "cottage, hut." Aimeric de Belenoi, Gr. 9, 18 (= Dum. IX), lines 59-60 says:

Que palaitz ten per cortil,
s'om no-i fai fach agradil.

The word *cortil* is translated with *courtill*, the glossary marks also *enclos*, and a note says that Raynouard, in our passage, translates *métairie*. The word is opposed to *palaitz*, so we can say that *cortil* is the lodging of uneducated people of the lower classes, whereas *palaitz* is that of the refined, well-educated people. The same contrast is established in a poem of Giraut de Bornelh, Gr. 242, 49 (= Kolsen No. 19), line 12:

Com sai-m valgr'us paucs cortils
mais que lai us palais grans!

Kolsen translates *Gehöft*, I should prefer "cottage, hut."¹¹

desfait, "cursed, execrable." In Gr. 9, 11 (= Dum. XVIII), line 47, Aimeric de Belenoi calls the *lausen-jadors* (the scandal-mongers) *fals*, *desfaitz*, *pejors qe Canineus*. The editor could not make much of the words. *desfaitz* (cf. her note p. 197). Here again, Old French can help us to find the right interpretation; for Tobler-Lommatzsch II, 1581, 11 ff., gives some examples of the above-mentioned meaning of *desfait*, which excellently fits our passage, as a depreciatory epithet of those scandal-mongers.

desmesclar, "to reveal," Aimeric de Belenoi, Gr. 9, 4 (= Dum. II), lines 39-40:

E fals lauzengier fan m'esglay
quar desmesclan l'amor q'ie-us ay.

Miss Dumitrescu adopts the reading of manuscript C against that of all the other manuscripts (*ABDIKR*), which show *c'ades mesclan*, and translates: *car ils nuisent à l'amour que j'ai pour vous*. The glossary has *finir*, *détruire* for *desmesclar*, and a note (p. 161) refers to Old French *desmesler*. The latter, however, as well as Old Provençal *desmesclar* does not mean "to finish" in general, but

¹¹ See also Lavaud, *Ann. du Midi*, 49, 313.

only to put an end to a quarrel, a battle, a *meslee*. So it is the opposite of *mesclar*, "to set people at variance." Though *mesclar* is generally connected with a personal object and *mesclar un'amor* was not yet known in Provençal, the manuscripts *ABDIKR* cannot have understood the passage differently. So we see that the simple word *mesclar* has approximately that sense which Miss Dumitrescu attributes to the compound word. But what was the idea of the copyist of manuscript *C* when he employed *desmesclar*? This reading must not be rejected altogether. For Old French *desmesler* can have the meaning of "to distentagle" (see Tobler-Lommatzsch II, 1648), and from here it is not a long way to "to reveal, to uncover." One example, at least, in Godefroy (IX, 346) corroborates this interpretation of *desmesclar*. It dates, it is true, only from the year 1521, but it seems to prove the existence of that meaning in medieval French: *Je puis mieux desmeler la verité de cet affaire que nul autre*. We therefore think that the scribe of manuscript *C* had in view a similar meaning when he wrote *desmesclan l'amor*, "they reveal my love."

dezaventura, "indecentcy, unseemliness."

In the verses:

Ja no diray tan gran dezaventura . . .
que siatz mortz, quar diria folhor

of Gr. 9, 1 (= Dum. XII), line 17, the editor translates *dezaventura* with *parole malheureuse, inconsiderée*. To this she probably came from the original meaning of the word: "misfortune." But since Tobler-Lommatzsch offers an example for "indecentcy," I should prefer to adopt this meaning also for our passage.

dig, "matter, subject (of a poem, etc.)." Peire Raimon says in Gr. 355, 4 (= Cav. III), lines 68-70:

E no-n paneys ges pecx,
si tot s'es braus et enoios lo temps,
pus de tals digz sai far chansos ni vers.

Cavaliere translates: *E, sebbene la stagione sia inclemente ed avversa, non apparirò sciocco, poichè su tali parole so fare canzoni e versi*. This translation shows that the editor has not been aware of the fact that the clause introduced by *si tot* is subordinate to, though preceding, that beginning with *pus*. This is a proceeding very common in medieval French and Provençal (cf. Tobler, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1875, 1078 and *Verm. Beitr.* I², 128 f.). Kolsen grasps this construction better, translating: "... if, in spite of the rough and disagreeable season, I know how to make songs out of these

words." Both editors, however, translate *digz* literally with "words." Which words? *Braus et enoios temps*? But in the course of his poem, he never employs these words again! I am of the opinion that the word *dig* means "matter, subject" here, and I was of that opinion even before the last fasciculus of Tobler-Lommatzsch's second volume (p. 1960, 5 ff.) appeared to corroborate my interpretation. The matter out of which the poet intends to form his poem, is the desolate season and the annoyance connected with it, from which he wishes to free himself through singing. It is quite comprehensible that a poem which is made in such a state of mind should be of a morose and pessimistic nature, and, indeed, it is filled with a complaint of the decline of morals. So the poet emphasizes, as other poets did in his time, the correspondence between the dreary season and the dreary subject of his poem, and he is even proud of his capability to extract a poem out of such an unfavourable subject. For this is the meaning of *E no·n pareys ges pecx*, "I do not appear stupid," i.e., I am clever indeed, if I succeed in making poems in spite of that wintry season which is so injurious to all courteous doing. This boasting is continued in the next lines (stanza II): *Ben say pareyllar e far motz plas e cars . . .*, and it occurs also in others of Peire's poems: *Ab son gay plan e car Fatz descort leu e bon, Avinen per chantar e de bella razon*, Gr. 355, I (= Cav. I), lines 1-4; *E si ben so·il mot maestril, Leu seran d'entendre a un quec*, Gr. 355, 14 (= Cav. XII), lines 7-8; *Que no·m par que ia·n truep pareill Qu'en chantan formes meillors ditz*, loc. cit., lines 15-16. Peire's editor nowhere speaks of this strong self-esteem of his poet.

don, "where." This meaning of *don* is not mentioned in the dictionaries. It may therefore be of interest to offer some examples of it here. I should not insist too much on that given by Appel in his *Chrestomathie* 6, line 138: *Vai, torna t'en en Persa, don es natz e noiritz*, because the verb *naisser* forms a special case. The construction *naisser de*, e.g., *naisser (nat) de maire*, "to spring, to derive from," is very frequent in Old Provençal; but in an example like this (from Giraut de Bornelh, Gr. 242, 60 [= Kolsen No. 12], line 16): *C'anc de rozeus no nasquet flors plus fresca*, one can doubt if the poet really still had the conception of the place from where the flower comes or rather of the place where it springs. So this ambiguity of the local relations in the verb *naisser* and its frequent connection with *de* may have influenced the author of the passage quoted above from Appel. Moreover, in this special case, another motive may have been at work: the words *torna t'en en Persa*, "return to Persia," may have developed in the author's mind

the contrasting conception of "from where you have come" and confirmed him in a tendency to employ, in connection with *naïsser*, the adverb *don*, "from where," instead of *on*, "where."

So this example of *don*, "where," is not certain beyond all doubt. The following examples from *Jaufre* (ed. Breuer), however, can be considered, I think, as absolutely reliable: *Ez es del caval deisendutz, Que non sap don s'an ne que's fassa* (line 4185); *Mas l'uns es mezel devenutz Ez es si partitz de son fraire, C'una maison li fes sa maire Non sai don, ab encantament* (line 5547); *Ben aia la terra don fos (= fotz) E·l rei Artus, que sa·us trames, E vostr' amiga lai don (!) es* (line 7748). In all these passages, manuscript *A* has *on* instead of *don*.

Without making an attempt at explaining how the two local meanings of *don* could have been confused, I only point to the fact that an Old Provençal *don* is not more surprising than modern French *de* in sentences such as: *Il est allé de ce côté-là* (cf. also Tobler-Lommatzsch II, 1206, 44 ff.). Moreover, in Old French, too, *dont* sometimes occurred with the sense of "where" (*loc. cit.*, 2025, 40 ff.).

So the existence of *don*, "where," in Old Provençal cannot be doubted. If the editor of Aimeric de Belenoi had known this, she would probably have interpreted the following passage (Gr. 9, 12 [= Dum. IV], lines 4-7) otherwise than she has done:

Mas car non puese dire mon cor estiers,
hieu chan forsatz, ab alques d'alegransa,
per so que¹² tals aprenga ma chanso
que la chan lai don no·m part ni non so.

She translates the second part of the last line with *à celle dont je ne me sépare pas, mais auprès de qui je ne suis pas*. She explains this by supposing that an *on*, "where," is to be supplied before *ni non so*. This supposition is not only objectionable from the grammatical point of view, but unnecessary, as we have seen above. For *don* being able to adopt the meaning of *on*, "where," a second *don* (before *ni non so*) would be superfluous. But even then, I think, the interpretation of Miss Dumitrescu would not be correct. First, it is not at all certain that *don* with the sense of "where" belonged to Aimeric's linguistic habits. Second, was it really possible to supply that *don* in a meaning ("where") different from that of the *don* introducing the relative clause ("from where")? So, though the word *don* is indeed to be supplied before *ni non so*, this *don*

¹² This *per so que* is not, I think, *afin que*, but "provided, in case that." The poet sings rather under compulsion, but would nevertheless have some joy in doing so, if only there were somebody to sing his poem to his lady.

must have the same syntactical value as that in the beginning of the clause: *ni [don] non so* cannot be translated otherwise than with "whose I am not, to whom I do not belong, who does not consider me as her own."

el, "it." In Aimeric de Belenoi, Gr. 9, 21 (= Dum. XV), lines 53-4, we read the following lines:

E se l'a ja domna e mal no-l pessa,
dentre¹³ las pros s'en an estar alhor.

In line 53, the manuscripts give:

e sil ia domna AB
e sel (sil H) lia domna CDHIK.

Appel proposed: *E s'el [a] ja domna que mal no-l pessa*. This is apparently to mean "And if he has already a lady who does not bear him malice." But this translation is not satisfactory, the sense of the two parts of the line being contradictory. For would a woman be the poet's lady if she bore him malice? Moreover, if the relative pronoun *que* is introduced into the text instead of the conjunction *e*, as by Appel, the verb of the relative clause ought to show the subjunctive *pes*, instead of the indicative *pessa*. Miss Dumitrescu's text is not much better. In the first part of the line, she adopts Appel's text, only dividing the letters otherwise. Her text can only mean: "If a lady has him." That is a strange way of expressing oneself. Miss Dumitrescu must have felt that; for she translates: *Et si jamais une dame l'accueille*, which is not in the text.

There is, however, a way to preserve the letters of the majority of the manuscripts without changing anything, i.e., to read:

s'el <I> i a domna e mal no-l pessa and to translate: "If there is a lady and she bears him no malice."

There are two difficulties about that interpretation, a syntactical, and a phonetic one. As far as I know, examples of "it" as a grammatical subject for impersonal verbs have not yet been observed in Old Provençal. But why should that syntactical phenomenon not have existed in Old Provençal, if it existed in the Old French of the earliest time: *Chanson de Roland*, *Books of the Kings*, etc. (see Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm. d. Rom. Spr.*, III, 357)? Here we even find the form *el* (instead of *il*) derived from Latin *illu(d)*. The corresponding form in Old Provençal is, it is true, *lo*, which is rather rare and comes from Latin *illú(d)*, with the stress on the second syllable. But why should there not have been a form

¹³ Read *d'entre*!

*el*¹⁴ derived from Latin *illu(d)*, accentuated regularly. We may even say that that form must once have existed in Old Provençal, because the modern dialects of the southwestern parts of France (Poitou, Saintonge) have preserved this *el* in the form of *a* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *loc. cit.*), and it is remarkable that Aimeric was born in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux. If, then, we really have to do here with a rare, perhaps a dialectic form differing from that of the common language of the troubadours, it would be understandable why the scribes did not agree in writing down this passage, which, in itself, could not have offered the least difficulty to their comprehension.

error, "insanity," see *tro que* No. 2, note.

estendre, refl., "to expand, to increase." Peire Raimon in Gr. 355, 8 (= Cav. VII), lines 28-29 says of his lady:

... gar en valor
m'a fait estendre e poiar en honor. ...

The editor translates: ... *avendomi lei fatto avanzare in virtù e salire in pregio*. The translation is fairly good, but in the note (p. 49), Cavaliere puts *fördern* ("to promote someone"), referring to Levy, *SWB*, III, 316, No. 2. The only example given here, runs thus:

E si·l sieu cors volgues el mieu entendre,
totz autres jois for·n contra·l mieu mendre,
e ja d'un bais s'il me volgues estendre,
no m'en feira tirar ni escoyssendre.

But this passage does not prove what it is meant to prove. I am convinced that in these lines, *estendre* has the sense, not of *fördern*, but of "to tender, to offer" (Levy, *loc. cit.*, No. 1), and the conditional clause (line 3) means: "if she should be willing to offer it (= the kiss) to me." I therefore put a comma after *bais* and read *si·l* (instead of *s'il*) *me volgues estendre*.¹⁵

¹⁴ Similarly, till recently it had not been noticed that, for the nominative of the neuter of the interrogative pronoun, there existed, besides the usual form *que*, the rarer form *qui*. See the examples which I gave, *Neuphil. Mitt.*, 38 (1937), 37 ff., to which now can be added one more from Aimeric de Belenoi, Gr. 9, 7 (=Dum. III), line 51: *Seigner n'Aimo, quan pes Vos cals etz ni qui es lo segles, ieu no·i vei . . .*, which is not marked as neuter in the glossary.

¹⁵ This correction, however, is not absolutely necessary. For the text may remain unaltered, and yet keep the sense adopted above. If we continue reading *s'il*, we suppose that the pronominal object *lo* (=it=the kiss) has not been expressed, because it is evident that only this can be the missing object, a proceeding rather frequently met with in Old French and Provençal.

Now, in the passage of Peire Raimon quoted above, Anglade had changed *estendre* into *entendre*, and Jeanroy (*Rom.* 63, 113) follows him in this. I cannot agree with these two scholars. For the sentence *en valor m'a fait estendre e poiare en honor* is evidently composed of two parts similarly constructed and forming a chiasmus (see above, section 1): as *valor* and *honor* correspond to each other, so do the two infinitives *estendre* and *poiare*, which cannot but be synonymous. In order to grasp the real meaning of *estendre* in our case, we have to depart from the original meaning "to extend, to stretch out," and, the verb being employed here in a figurative sense, to translate it with "to increase." Raynouard (*Lex. Rom.* V, 328 b) is of the same opinion and renders our passage with *m'a fait étendre en mérite*. Cavaliere himself cites an example from Bertr. d'Alamanon: *Que joy d'amor ve hom fort leu deysseendre E pretz d'armas aut pujar et estendre*, which does not prove his interpretation *fördern*, but ours "to increase." Here, as in our example, the two infinitives *estendre* and *pujar* are put together, and as *pujar* is doubtless an intransitive verb, *estendre* cannot be simply transitive. But, according to its origin, it is not intransitive either. What is, then, the real grammatical nature of *estendre*? The example following ours in Raynouard: . . . *s'estendra mos paux sabers* clearly shows that it is a reflexive verb, the reflexive pronoun, however, having been omitted in connection with the infinitive, a well-known phenomenon in Old French and Provençal.

format, "beautiful." In Peire Raimon, No. XII (Gr. 355, 14), line 42, Cavaliere translates *son gen cors format gentil* with *la sua graziosa persona, nobilmente modellata*. But is it possible to see in *gen* an adverb belonging to *format*, from which it is separated by the substantive *cors*? To justify that translation, the text ought to be: *son cors gen format* (cf. XIV, 19: *son belh cors guay, gen format, avinen*), and some manuscripts show this inversion of *gen* and *cors*. But this being the clearer form of the text, the other is probably to be considered as the original one. If this is really the case, *gen* is an adjective, and the word *format* alone must then have the sense of *gen format*, "well formed, beautiful," as it no doubt has in *Jaufre* (ed. Breuer), line 534, where the hero is described as having *bellas mans e detz formatz*. Cf. Italian *formoso*, Spanish *hermoso*.

jazer en far alcuna re, "to be bent on doing something." This meaning is clearly seen in Aimeric de Belenoi, Gr. 9, 4 (= Dum. II), line 43: *Per qu'el sieu bendir mos cors jay*. This use of *jazer* is remarkable and not yet stated in the dictionaries; Levy, *SWB* IV, 255, No. 8, only offers *jazer en pecat*, "to sin." So it is astonishing that Miss Dumitrescu does not mention it in her glossary. Her translation *J'ai voué mon coeur à sa louange* is approximately right.

lai, "there," used pleonastically. In Gr. 9, 3 (= Dum. I), line 41, Aimeric de Belenoi says:

Chansos, vai t'en lai, en cel dous paes.

The comma after *lai* is not at its right place, because the cesura does not lie there, but after *t'en*. So *lai* is closely connected with *en cel dous paes*, which, consequently, cannot be considered, as the editor does, as an apposition to *lai*. We have to do here with a local *lai* deprived of its substance, of its real meaning. This phenomenon has already been attested by Levy, *SWB* IV, 302, for temporal *lai*. It would indeed be astonishing, if such a "superfluous" *lai* should not have existed in connection with local adjuncts, as was the case with temporal ones. The existence of the expression *lai on* in cases where simple *on* would be sufficient can be considered as a further proof of that "superfluous" local *lai*. Moreover, there is, in my opinion, another example of such a *lai* in Aimeric de Belenoi, Gr. 9, 14 (= Dum. IV), line 43:

Vas la bella n'Elionor t'enansa,
chansos, qu'en lieis pren bos pretz meilluransa;
qu'eu la tramet a lieis per meillurar.

Instead of this *la*, which is in all the manuscripts, the editor has put *te* in the text, which is not advisable. Here again we have *la* (= *lai*), devoid of its real sense, at the side of the local adjunct *a lieis*. If a *te* is really missing, we may supply it after *la* and read *la*<*t*>, the suppression of *t* before *trames* being comprehensible from the palaeographical point of view.

mesclar un'amor, see *desmesclar*.

non que, "not that." This expression has not yet been given in Provençal dictionaries; but it is found in a poem attributed to Arnaut de Marueil, Gr. 30, 5 (Johnston p. 9), V, 3:

Juli Cesar conquis la senhoria
per son esfors de tot lo mon a randa,
non ges q'el fos senher ni reis d'Irlanda. . . .
ans fo bas hom, seguon qu'ieu, aug retraire.

Perhaps this passage is able to explain a rather difficult one in Aimeric de Belenoi, Gr. 9, 6 (= Dum. XIV), lines 46-50. The poet calls his song *mos avinentç presicx*, "my nice sermon," and having a wish to send it, in all humility, to Castile, he continues:

46. Non atanh a casticx:
mas car al franc rei platç
48. bels dictç e fatç presatç
que no cresa sermon don preç abais,
50. mas grat, com fe sos avis, bos assaiç.

For line 46 neither of the two translations the editor offers (*Il ne m'appartient pas de faire des remontrances* or *Mon but n'est pas de faire. . .*) is satisfactory. She asks herself (p. 187) what may be the real sense of *atanh*. Indeed the preposition *a* in connection with *atanh* is hardly to be explained. We must read, I think, *atanha*. But what may then be the cause of that subjunctive? Now, Appel says—and Miss Dumitrescu makes a similar remark—that the first letter in *atanha* is not clear. So we are allowed to presume that there was *c'atanha* in the original. The text of line 48 would then be: *Non c'atanha casticx*. This *Non que*, of course, necessitates the subjunctive, and fits in with the sense excellently: the poet sends his "sermon" to Castile; not that any (moral) instruction may be necessary there, but because the noble king is pleased with fine sayings and worthy deeds.

qui, "what," see *el*, "it," note.

razon, "right." This sense of the word *razon* is not unknown to Provençal lexicographers. But as Levy offers four examples chosen only from prose texts (*SWB* VII, 60, No. 3), I thought it advisable to give some others from poetical texts. *Per drez l'es pres mos cors, e mas* (read *m'es*) *razos Qu'après mainz mals jauzir* (read *jauzis*) *d'un bon esper*, Daude Prad. (?), Gr. 124, 9 (Schutz p. 91), IV, 1; *Pero be sai que s'ab razo*¹⁶ *de fin' amor me vol jurgar, Qu'ab lei dei chausimen trobar*, Gauc. Faidit, Gr. 167, 5 (Kolsen, *Arch. Rom.* XVII, 365), II, 1. The word occurs also in Perdigon, Gr. 370, 13; cf. Bertoni, *ZfrPh* 37, 344-49. Finally, a passage from Aimeric de Belenoi, Gr. 9, 17 (= Dum. VIII), line 53:

Car, pos Merces pert sa razo
en amor, non son seguras
d'esser ja mais jauzens e sas.

The editor translates *razo* with *pouvoir*, and in the notes proposes a second possibility: *raison d'être*. Both these translations, however, are derived only from this single passage.

resonar, transitive "to proclaim, to glorify." It occurs in Peire Raimon, Gr. 355, 9 (= Cav. VIII), line 82:

E vau ressonan
son pretz e non blan
duc ni rei ni amiran.

Cavaliere does not include the word in the glossary of his edition, and no note points out that this sense of the word has not yet been recorded in the dictionaries. It is only in Raynouard (*Lex. Rom.*

¹⁶ Kolsen reads *ques ab razon*, considering the *Qu(e)* of the last line as a consecutive conjunction, and translates accordingly "so that" and *ab razo* "with respect to." In reality, that *Qu(e)* only repeats the preceding *que* after a subordinate clause inserted, and *razon* is "right, law" (according to the law of noble love).

V, 265) that we find an example of the transitive use of that verb. It is from the sixteenth century (Olivier de Magny): *Qu'Echo ne dédaigne en ces boys Résonner cela que je chante*. The simple word *sonar* having had the meaning of "to proclaim, to praise" (Levy, *SWB* VII, 815, No. 14), why should not the compound word have had the same construction and meaning?

retrai, see *com*.

revinensa, "recovery, healing." Aimeric de Belenoi, Gr. 9, 17 (= Dum. VIII), lines 45-49:

Que se m'agues enviat
per nuill hom (*read*: hom') o per vassal
solamen un "Dieus vos sal,"
de ma malsabença
agra salvat reverenza.

The last two lines are translated by Miss Dumitrescu as follows: *elle aurait préservé de mon mécontentement l'estime [que j'ai pour elle]*. In a note (p. 174), she proposes to read *agra salva-l reverenza*. Neither of the two interpretations is satisfactory; in both cases, we should rather expect to find the possessive pronoun with *reverenza* than with *malsabença*, which forces the editor to add that relative clause in her translation. I am afraid that *reverenza* is not suitable here at all. Moreover, the meaning *estime* for *reverenza* has yet to be borne out in Old Provençal. I therefore think that *reverenza* is a mistake, due perhaps to the Italian writer of the only manuscript (*N*), for *revenenza*, or better *revinensa*. Ours, then, would be the second example of the existence of this word in Provençal. The other is found in Guilhem de Montanhagol, Gr. 225, 5, ed. Coulet, V, where its sense is not absolutely clear, but may be "salvation, recovery." This sense would be quite suitable to our passage: If the beloved lady had sent the poet a kind greeting, she would have secured for him recovery from his discontent. Similarly, three lines later, the poet speaks of the *guarizo* which he no longer hopes to find (cf. also line 37: *ni no-n trop guirença*).

saber, with a special construction. Peire Raimon, Gr. 355, 9 (= Cav. VIII), lines 31-32:

E per autre non vuoill sia saubut,
s'aqui mezeis sabi' estre emperaire.

The translation of line 32: *anche se sapesse di essere all' istante imperatore* is, on the whole, correct (a little clearer: "even if I knew that I should become emperor at once"). This construction of *saber* with an infinitive of the present tense, but whose action is in the future, is not of daily occurrence in Old Provençal and would have been worth mentioning in a note. To this example and those given by me in *ZfrPh* 48, 611 and *ZffSuL* 57, 422, I can now add

the following: *Qu'un'amor ad autr' enquir plais Si'n sabia esser auciza*, P. d'Alv., Gr. 323, 12 (Zenker p. 91), VII, 4, which the editor quite correctly translates: "even if she knew that it would mean death to her."

tenemen, see *tenensa*.

tenensa, "behavior, conduct." In a poem attributed to Aimeric de Belenoi, Gr. 9, 16 (= Dum. XX, lines 12 ff.), we read:

qu'avetz bona captenensa
per que tot melhur' e gensa;
no vey domna mielhs captener.

In the beginning of the first of these lines, the manuscripts have *Pueys*, which Miss Dumitrescu replaces by *Qu'*, the line having one syllable too many. This seems to me rather a violent operation. On the other hand, the *No vey . . .* of the last verse being completely isolated and without any connection with what precedes, it is advisable to consider it as the principal clause of a subordinate one introduced by *Pueys* (or better: *Pos*). But what to do with the superfluous syllable of line 12? In order to eliminate it, I propose to read *tenensa* instead of *captenensa*, attributing the existence of *captenensa* to the influence of the verb *captener* in line 14. The word *tenensa*, which I presume to have been the original reading, could have the more easily been replaced by *captenensa*, as, in my opinion, it has here a sense similar to that of *captenensa* ("conduct, behaviour") and apparently rare in Old Provençal, where it has not yet been exemplified. But *sé tener* means "to behave." Levy offers one certain example of this (*SWB* VIII, 157). I add another, in which the infinitive appears used as a noun and, therefore, without the reflexive pronoun: . . . *pretz ab gran valenssa, Onratz gens teners son en lieis*, G. Faidit, Gr. 167, 37 (Kolsen, *Trobadorgedichte* p. 20). Likewise *tenemen* is found with the sense of "conduct, behaviour": *Mas car am senz mentir, Non puesc celar qu'eu non fassa parvenza D'amoros ioi e per zo chant soven, Que maintas genz tenon a non-sabenza; Mas me non cal de lur van tenemen*, Lanfr., Cigala, Gr. 282, 19; III, 7 (Bertoni, *Trov. D'Italia* p. 363; translation: *opinione*, note: *attitudine, modo di continersi*). So it is, I think, mere chance that, in the equation of meanings *sé captener: captenemen: captenensa = sé tener: tenemen: tenensa*, the last member should have been missing till now. The translation of the whole passage then is: "As you show a good conduct, owing to which everything becomes better and finer, I do not see any lady behave better (than you do)."

tener, refl., "to behave," see *tenensa*.

termenar, "to achieve one's aim." Aimeric de Belenoi (= Dum. VIII), lines 1-6 says:

- Pos Dieus nos a restaurat
lo pro comte proensal
3. de ric lignaze reial,
torn m'en en Proenza,
on comencet e comença
6. veilla valors e novella.

The poem is only in manuscript *N*. In line 4, the manuscript has *termen*. Suchier, the first editor of this poem, left the word unchanged, unfortunately without saying what he thought it meant. The correction which Miss Dumitrescu makes is skilful, but not without exciting some doubt. For, why should *torn m'en*, which is simple and clear to everybody, have been changed into *termen*, which is less clear? If *termen* is correct, it cannot but be derived from *termenar*; but it is impossible to translate it with *je finis*, *je reviens*, as Miss Dumitrescu proposes in a note (p. 173). The usual sense of *termenar*, which is known only as a transitive verb, and means "to hold up an aim before someone," does not fit in here, the verb being evidently intransitive, whether *termen* may be regarded as first person, as Miss Dumitrescu does, or as third person, as I think, with *veilla valors e novella* as subject. Intransitive *termenar*, then, can no longer mean "to hold up an aim," but "to achieve one's aim, to find fulfilment." The same meaning is found, I think, in a passage quoted by Levy (*SWB* VIII, 178, No. 2). Levy does not offer any interpretation, but the passage is quite similar to ours: *Emperairitz e de grans beutatz plena . . . , Port de salut on totz bos ayps termena* ("harbour of salvation where every good quality finds its aim, its fulfilment, its accomplishment"). So, the sense of our passage is: God has made the Count of Provence return to his country, and thus real worth will find its fulfilment in the country in which it has been renewed again and again. Then follows the well-known play upon the words *proesa*, "valour," and *Proensa*, the name of the country and seat of *proesa*.

tro que, 1. with an apparently conditional sense. We read in Peire Raimon, Gr. 355, 14 (= Cav. XII), lines 43-4:

. . . e fora mortz de gil¹⁷
tro c'un pauc mos cors s'esperec.

For *tro que*, Cavaliere makes this rather laconic note: "if not," referring to Levy (*SWB*, VIII, 477). This note is a little striking in its abruptness. For *tro que*, of course, cannot really mean "unless." No doubt, it comes near to that meaning (here perhaps nearer than in the examples quoted by Levy), but it would have been worth

¹⁷ Postverbal substantive to *gelar*, explanation given by Jeanroy, *Rom.* 63, 113. Cavaliere has *de [v]il* in his text, which is certainly not correct.

while to follow, in a note, the semantic way which *tro que* took from "till" to "unless." An action—in our case: dying—would have taken place, but a second—here: the awakening of the heart—hinders the first from taking place. Such a connection of facts is generally expressed in a conditional sentence: *A* would have taken place, unless *B* had happened. Our poet begins his sentence, as if he wished to form such a conditional sentence: "I should have died from cold." But then the reality of the second fact is so much impressed upon him that he employs the mood of reality, introducing it—positively—by a temporal conjunction instead of—negatively—by a conditional one. He chooses *tro que*, "till," which really means: the action of dying was going on (and would have been fulfilled) till his heart awakened (and put an end to dying). Other authors—for this stylistic phenomenon is not a peculiarity of Raimon's—employ the conjunction *can*: I should have died, "when" my heart awakened, i.e., my dying was on the point of being realised, when my heart awakened and saved me. Stimming, in his edition of Bertran de Born (3rd ed., p. 173 for Gr. 80, 32 [= No. 12], line 38), speaking of this construction with *can*, is of the opinion that we are concerned here with the blending of two constructions: "He would have conquered, if he had not died" and "he was going to conquer, when he died," and refers to Mätschke, *Die Nebensätze der Zeit im Altfranz* (Diss., Kiel 1887), p. 28. Here, indeed, we find 16 examples for this use of *quant* in Old French, all of which are taken from epic poetry. His explanation, however, by means of an ellipsis is anything but satisfactory. Stimming offering no further examples from Old Provençal and no other provençalist, as far as I know, having given any, I should like to refer once more to those four from *Jaufre* (lines 1121, 3818, 8496, 8557), which the editor (Breuer) does not speak of in his glossary and which I put together in *ZfrPh* 48, 612. That most of the examples of that construction are derived from epic poetry is not astonishing. It is a structure naturally adapted to epic rather than lyric expression, and therefore seldom occurs in Old Provençal. It makes the narrative abrupt, lively, and effective.

2. "as long as." Peire Raimon, Gr. 355, 17 (= Cav. XV), lines 10-11 says:

Mais hom qu'es fols . . .
non er iuiatz tro que lo ten l'error.¹⁸

¹⁸ Here, Cavaliere has *l'iror*. The two manuscripts (*IK*) offer *beiror*. Appel, the first editor of the poem, proposed to read *l'error* or *l'iror*. The former, in my opinion, corresponds better with the letters of the manuscripts from the palaeographic point of view and is more suitable from the point of view of the meaning, as the author does not speak in that passage of "grief" (*iror*), but of "insanity," and the word *error* comes nearer to that conception than *iror*; cf. *dire errors*, "to speak insanely" (Levy, *SWB*, III, 129, No. 3).

The *tro que* of the second line is translated by the editor with *fin tanto che*, i.e., as if there was not *tro que* in the text, but *tan que*, which Appel proposed to put instead of *tro que*. But I think a correction unnecessary. If I am right, *tro que* has developed another peculiar meaning, which, besides that of "unless" (see above) and that of "before" (see Levy, *SWB* VIII, 477, No. 4), deviates from its original meaning in a third direction. The German word *seit* can introduce (1) the moment at which a period of time begins during which an action is going on (English, "since the first of April"), (2) that period of time itself (English, "for three years"). Similarly, *tro que*, which usually introduces only the fact which puts an end to another (English, "till"), seems to have developed this other sense, that it can designate the period of time during which that fact is existing until it is ended by another (English, "as long as, while").

Now, Old French (*en*)*tres* (*true*)*s* (*que*) has the double sense of "till" and "while." Lerch, however (*Histor. Franz. Syntax* II, 23 f. and 36 f.) does not only separate (*en*)*tres* (*que*) from (*en*)*true**s* *que*, but also distinguishes between *entru**es* (*que*), "till," and *en*-*tru**esque*, "while," these two being, according to him, of different origin and composed with Latin *intro* and *inter*. He moreover maintains that *entru**esque*, "while," had had this meaning from the beginning, but the examples given by him are relatively late (Aucasin, Berte, Froissart). According to Falk,¹⁹ who is fully approved of by Rohlfs (*Archiv f. d. Stud. d. N. Spr.* 166, 148), Provençal (*en*)*tro* goes back to Latin *inter hoc*. From the point of view of the meaning, *intro* would be preferable. But, however that may be, it is not possible, in my opinion, to separate the etymologies of the two Old French *entru**esque* from each other, considering that the Provençal *tro* (*que*) has developed the two meanings, "till" and "as long as, while," out of itself. If then, the two *entru**esque* separated by Lerch are of the same origin, this word can, on its part, support the meaning of "as long as, while" hitherto unknown, but now given here, for the Old Provençal *tro* (*que*).

vezat, see *aver*.

Berlin

¹⁹ 'Jusque' et autres termes en ancien français et en ancien provençal marquant le point d'arrivée (Diss., Uppsala, 1934). I have not been able to consult this writing.

MONTESQUIEU AND HUME*

By ROGER B. OAKE

CLIMATE

The question of the influence of climate on national character, customs and laws which Montesquieu introduced so extensively into *L'Esprit des Lois* was, as Dedieu has shown,⁴⁹ not original with him. Whatever were his sources, however, there seems no doubt that he was the first of the 18th century thinkers to bring the idea before the public consciousness. The views of Books 14-17 of *L'Esprit des Lois* caused a flurry of excitement particularly in theological circles, and Montesquieu found it necessary to devote a whole section of his *Défense* to the subject.⁵⁰ Though he would seem to have been fascinated for a time by the notion of geographical determination, and though he states that, "L'empire du climat est le premier de tous les empires,"⁵¹ Montesquieu was far from over-estimating the effect of climate, as a just investigation of his statements quickly shows. As he himself states in his *Défense*:

... le climat et les autres causes physiques produisent un nombre infini d'effets. Si l'auteur avoit dit le contraire, on l'auroit regardé comme un homme stupide. Toute la question se réduit à savoir si dans des pays éloignés entre eux, si, sous des climats différents, il y a des caractères d'esprit nationaux. En un mot, ce physique du climat peut produire diverses dispositions dans les esprits; ces dispositions peuvent influer sur les esprits; ces dispositions peuvent influer sur les actions humaines:⁵² . . .

Climate, in other words, was for Montesquieu a vital factor in fashioning the national character of a people and hence its laws; it did not necessarily determine them.

"Le voyage en Angleterre," says Dedieu, "est dans l'histoire de la pensée de Montesquieu, d'une importance capitale." (*Op. cit.*, chap. 5, p. 131.) He goes on to point out that, while in the early twenties Montesquieu had been fascinated by "physics" and the possibilities of determinism, in the years immediately following he became in-

*The first part of Mr. Oake's article appeared in the March, 1941, number.

⁴⁹ Joseph Dedieu, *Montesquieu et la Tradition Politique Anglaise en France* (Paris, 1909), chap. 7. See also Alfred Lombard, *L'Abbé du Bos, un initiateur de la pensée moderne* (Paris, 1913).

⁵⁰ *Défense de L'Esprit des Lois* (1751), sec. *Climat*.

⁵¹ *L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XIX, chap. 14.

⁵² *Défense de L'Esprit des Lois*, Ed. Laboulaye, VI, p. 175 ff.

terested in moral causation⁸³—hence the lack of arguments from physical causes to be found in the *Considérations sur la Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*. The trend toward moral causation is also obvious in the first eight books of *L'Esprit des Lois*, which had reached their final form before the journey to England.⁸⁴ Under the influence of English thought the balance was then strongly redressed in favor of physical influences, just as politically the study of English institutions turned Montesquieu from republicanism to constitutional monarchism.

We are not much concerned here with this interesting development of Montesquieu's ideas. It is sufficient for us to know that both in *Lettres Persanes* and *L'Esprit des Lois* there are two bases which he assigns to the political structure, the moral and the physical. While the theory of geographic conditioning does not play so great a role in the earlier work as it does in the later, it does find expression there. In letters 114, 121 and 131 we find the philosophic Persians remarking on the physical limitations of human behavior and on divergences in national characteristics. Letter 121 furnishes perhaps the most interesting of these early expressions of the theory:

Il faut que les hommes restent où ils sont; il y a des maladies qui viennent de ce qu'on change un bon air contre un mauvais; d'autres qui viennent précisément de ce qu'on en change.

L'air se charge, comme les plantes, des particules de la terre de chaque pays. Il agit tellement sur nous, que notre temperament en est fixé. Lorsque nous sommes transportés dans un autre pays, nous devenons malades. Les liquides étant accoutumés, à une certaine consistance, les solides à un certain degré de mouvement, n'en peuvent plus souffrir d'autres, et ils résistent à un nouveau pli.

Quand un pays est desert, c'est un prejuge de quelque vice particulier de la nature du climat; ainsi, quand on ôte les hommes d'un ciel heureux pour les envoyer dans un tel pays on fait précisément le contraire de ce qu'on se propose.

The theory of climatic or geographic conditioning of national character plays a greater role, however, in *L'Esprit des Lois* than it does in any other part of Montesquieu's work. The fact is that Montesquieu was following his own peculiar method of speculative investigation. The impact of geographical discoveries on his thought,

⁸³ There are abundant documents available to show the early interest of Montesquieu in scientific questions. The most interesting are perhaps the *Projet d'une Histoire Physique de la Terre*, a circular sent out in 1719 in the name of the Bordeaux Academy, and *Observations sur l'Histoire Naturelle*, a paper reporting experiments and read to the same academy, Nov. 20, 1721.

⁸⁴ See Dedieu, *op. cit.*, chap. 7, especially sec. IV, where he traces the influence of Arbuthnot's "Essay on the Effects of Air on Human Bodies" (1733) on Montesquieu's thought.

and indeed on that of 18th century thinkers in general, bore fruit in theories to explain the infinite diversity of human customs which were opened to the view. The influence of Chardin's voyages on *Lettres Persanes* is too well known to need further comment.⁵⁵ Montesquieu was scientific in so far as his curiosity for facts was concerned. But despite Lanson's explanation of the form into which *L'Esprit des Lois* was cast, it will have to be admitted that he was very unscientific in his formulation of theories.⁵⁶ His was the intuitive type of mind which is likely to be impatient of the hard work involved in proving an hypothesis, and likely to be fascinated by the possibility of explaining phenomena by means of it, rather than by inductive methods. This was the point at which sympathetic contemporary criticism attacked him, but if we consider the fruit which his ideas bore we shall hardly feel inclined to be as severe with him as Voltaire was,⁵⁷ especially when we consider that the latter was not always so severely inductive in his reasoning as his criticism might have us believe.

Montesquieu did not believe in climatic determinism. What he did believe is admirably summed up in the opening chapter of Book XIV:

S'il est vrai que le caractère de l'esprit et les passions du coeur soient extrêmement différents dans les divers climats, les lois doivent être relatives et à la différence de ces passions, et à la différence de ces caractères.

Laws are, for Montesquieu, an artificial means by which man may correct to his own liking the national character of a people. In chapter 5 of Book XIV, entitled very significantly:

Que les mauvais législateurs sont ceux qui ont favorisé les vices du climat, et les bons sont ceux qui s'y sont opposés.

he proceeds to criticise "Foé" for having favored by his legislation the "natural" inclination of the Hindu toward laziness and to praise the legislators of China for having made their laws, philosophy and religion of a practical nature and thus combated the "natural" vices of the Chinese. He concludes this chapter:

⁵⁵ See Carcassonne's edition of *Lettres Persanes* (Paris, 1929), pp. xx, xxi, for details.

⁵⁶ See Gustave Lanson, "Le déterminisme historique et l'idéalisme social dans l'Esprit des Lois," *RMM* (1916), pp. 177 ff. Even Lanson, though he states (p. 177, n.), that the Cartesian form of the book is a mask for inductive reasoning, feels impelled to qualify his statement with the remark that it contains much *a priori* reasoning. J. Dedieu, *Montesquieu* (Paris, 1913), has summed up the question extremely well, pp. 7 ff. (esp. p. 9).

⁵⁷ See especially the *Commentaire sur L'Esprit des Lois* (1777), the first dialogue of *L'ABC*, article *Lois* in the *Dictionnaire*, etc.

Plus les causes physiques portent les hommes au repos, plus les causes morales les en doivent éloigner.

Or again he says:

Je ferai voir, au livre 19, que les nations paresseuses sont ordinairement orgueilleuses. On pourroit tourner l'effet contre la cause, et détruire la paresse par l'orgueil. Dans le midi de l'Europe, où les peuples sont si frappés par le point d'honneur, il seroit bon de donner des prix aux laboureurs qui auroient le mieux cultivé leurs champs, ou aux ouvriers qui auroient porté plus loin leur industrie. *Cette pratique réussira même par tout pays.* Elle a servi de nos jours, en Irlande, à l'établissement d'une des plus importantes manufactures de toile qui soit en Europe. (*L'Esprit des Lois*, XIV, chap. 9. *Italics mine.*)

In the same way, in Book XV, which treats exclusively of slavery, although Montesquieu thinks that in some cases slavery is an appropriate custom and even has some measure of justification,⁵⁸ he remarks in chapter 11:

Mais de quelque nature que soit l'esclavage, il faut que les lois civiles cherchent à en ôter, d'un côté, les abus, et, de l'autre, les dangers.

Book XVI, which deals with family relationships, is a more detailed study of a subject which had fascinated Montesquieu during the writing of *Lettres Persanes*.⁵⁹ Confronted by the fact that monogamy, which was the basis of the European civilization he knew, was by no means universal, Montesquieu in his earlier work contented himself with portraying the evil personal and sociological results of polygamous customs. In *L'Esprit des Lois*, though the earlier preference for monogamy has not been abandoned, we find him attempting an explanation for polygamy and seeking its possible justification. He finds in the earlier arrival of puberty among Asiatic peoples, which he attributes to the influence of climate, a natural reason for polygamy:

Ainsi la loi qui ne permet qu'une femme se rapporte plus au physique du climat de l'Europe qu'au physique du climat de l'Asie. (*L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XVI, chap. 12.)

⁵⁸ See especially Bk. XV, chap. 7.

⁵⁹ See especially Letters 35, 115 and *passim*. Letter 35 holds especial interest. Writing on the religious customs of the Christians, Usbek says: "J'ai oui parler d'un livre de leurs docteurs intitulé la *Polygamie Triomphante*, dans lequel il est prouvé que la polygamie est ordonnée aux Chrétiens." The reference is to Johann Leyser's *Polygamia Triumphatrix* (Lund, 1682). This book climaxed a series begun in 1674, creating a furor between 1674-1682. See my article "Polygamy in the *Lettres Persanes*," *Romanic Review*, February, 1941.

But he goes on to state :

A regarder la polygamie en général, indépendamment des circonstances qui peuvent la faire un peu tolérer, elle n'est point utile au genre humain ni à aucun des deux sexes, soit à celui qui abuse, soit à celui dont on abuse. (*Ibid.*, chap. 6.)

And having further considered certain circumstances of climate which might explain the existence of polygamy and the seraglio, he finally states :

Quand donc la puissance physique de certains climats viole la loi naturelle des deux sexes et celles des êtres intelligents, *c'est au législateur à faire des lois civiles qui forcent la nature du climat et rétablissent les lois primitives.* (*Ibid.*, Bk. XVI, chap. 12. Italics mine.)

It is in Books XVII and XVIII of *L'Eprit des Loix* that Montesquieu states the case for the influence of climate most unequivocally. Book XVII advances the theory that despotic empires are more common in Asia than in Europe because the warmer climate of Asiatic countries predisposes its inhabitants to slavery, while Asia is also less divided by natural boundaries than Europe. (See especially chaps. 2-4.)

Thus :

La puissance doit donc être toujours despotique en Asie. Car, si la servitude n'y étoit pas extrême, il se feroit d'abord un partage que la nature du pays ne peut pas souffrir.

En Europe, le partage naturel forme plusieurs États d'une étendue médiocre, dans lesquels le gouvernement des lois n'est pas incompatible avec le maintien de l'État : au contraire, il y est si favorable, que, sans elle, cet État tombe dans la décadence, et devient inférieur à tous les autres. (Bk. XVII, chap. 6.)

Book XVIII develops the idea that a people's independence of spirit is inversely proportional to the fertility of the soil it tills :

La bonté des terres d'un pays y établit naturellement la dépendance. Les gens de la campagne qui y font la principale partie du peuple, ne sont pas si jaloux de leur liberté ; ils sont trop occupés et trop pleins de leurs affaires particulières. . . . La stérilité des terres rend les hommes industriels, sobres, endurcis au travail, courageux, propres à la guerre ; il faut bien qu'ils se procurent ce que le terrain leur refuse. La fertilité d'un pays donne, avec l'aisance, la mollesse, et un certain amour pour la conservation de la vie. (*Ibid.*, chap. 4.)

But though in these two books Montesquieu rigorously defends the thesis that geographic conditions form a framework for the cus-

toms and laws of a people which it is difficult and sometimes dangerous for them to ignore; though an insular people, for example, is particularly favored politically by its geographic position (chap. 5), yet it is always possible for the human will to modify the effects of climate:

On a remarqué que les troupes d'Allemagne, levées dans des lieux où les paysans sont riches, comme en Saxe, ne sont pas si bonnes que les autres. Les lois militaires pourront pourvoir à cet inconvénient par une plus severe discipline . . . (chap. 4), malgré le climat de la Chine, où l'on est naturellement porté à l'obéissance servile, malgré les horreurs qui suivent la trop grande étendue d'un empire, les premiers législateurs de la Chine furent obligés de faire de tres-bonnes lois; et le gouvernement fut souvent obligé de les suivre (chap. 6).

Book XIX really sums up the matter. Here Montesquieu deals with what he calls "L'Esprit général" of peoples. He says:

Plusieurs choses gouvernent les hommes: le climat, la religion, les lois, les maximes du gouvernement, les exemples des choses passées, les mœurs, les manières; d'où il se forme un esprit général qui en résulte.

A mesure que, dans chaque nation, une de ces causes agit avec plus de force, les autres lui cèdent d'autant. La nature et le climat dominent presque seuls sur les sauvages; les manières gouvernent les Chinois; les lois tyrannisent le Japon; les mœurs donnoient autrefois le ton dans Lacédémone; les maximes du gouvernement et les mœurs anciennes le donnoient dans Rome. (Bk. XIX, chap. 4.)

This passage allows us to look once again at the statement we quoted above, "L'empire du climat est le premier de tous les empires," and to interpret Montesquieu's viewpoint.

Clearly the word *premier* is to be taken in two senses. The influence of climate is first in point of time. When a people is savage, its laws and customs are likely to be formed under the *tyranny* of geographic conditions. As it develops a civilisation, the customs and laws which it produces themselves become powerful factors in the formation of *L'Esprit général*, and climate is no longer an exclusive conditioning influence. On the other hand, even a civilized people has bounds set to its development by the geographic conditions under which it lives. Thus, though among civilised peoples many other factors must be considered by the legislator, climate, with its physiological and hence psychological influence, must be estimated first in importance. Speaking of England he says:

Je ne dis point que le climat n'ait produit, en grande partie, les lois, les moeurs et les manières de cette nation; mais je dis que les moeurs et les manières de cette nation devroient avoir un grand rapport à ses lois. (Bk. XIX, chap. 27.)

Geographic conditions have a great effect in forming the customs and manners of a people, and the legislation should be, and often is, related to the resultant complex which he calls *L'Esprit général*. But however just Voltaire may be in saying that Montesquieu gave too much importance to climatic influences,⁶⁰ we must still maintain that the latter was no determinist, however much occasional phrases, taken out of context, might imply the contrary. He never really deserted the position which he took up in his opening chapter:

L'homme, comme être physique, est, ainsi que les autres corps, gouverné par des lois invariables. Comme être intelligent, il viole sans cesse les lois que Dieu a établies, et change celles qu'il établit lui même. (Bk. I, chap. 1.)

Part II of Hume's *Treatise*, vol. 3, was entitled *Of Justice and Injustice*. It was a detailed treatment of the thesis that justice, government and even sexual morality are based not on any moral conscience innate in man, but on the necessities of society, on *public utility*. The theory is in itself not at all foreign to the spirit of Montesquieu, certainly not, as we shall see later, as foreign to it as Hume himself supposed. But the treatment partakes of the general nature of the *Treatise* in its abstractness. When he came to write the *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals* (first published in 1751), he not only reduced the space allotted to this part of the argument; he made his treatment much more concrete, and modified his theory. One of the modifications quite clearly inspired by *L'Esprit des Lois* is the following paragraph:

In general, we may observe, that all questions of property are subordinate to the authority of civil laws, which extend, restrain, modify and alter the rules of natural justice, according to the particular *convenience* of each community. The laws have, or ought to have, a constant reference to the constitution of government, the manners, the climate, the religion, the commerce, the situation of each society. A late author of genius, as well as learning, has prosecuted this subject at large, and has established from these principles a system of political knowledge, which abounds in ingenious and brilliant thoughts, and is not wanting in solidity. (Hume's note: The author of *L'Esprit des Lois*. This illustrious writer, however,

⁶⁰ See especially *Commentaire sur L'Esprit des Lois*, sec. *Du Climat*, Moland, XXX, pp. 442 ff., and cf. *L'ABC*, 1st part, and *Dictionnaire*, article *Lois*, *passim*.

sets out with a different theory, and supposes all right to be founded on certain *rappports* or relations, which is a system that, in my opinion, never will be reconciled with true philosophy. . . .)⁶¹

Hume proceeds, in the footnote I have just quoted, to argue for his own theory, that the *interest of society*, being the foundation of civil laws, is also the foundation of property-rights and hence of justice. But it would seem evident that he had misunderstood Montesquieu's general position, for he proceeds:

Where a civil law is so perverse as to cross all the interests of society, it loses all its authority, and men judge by the ideas of natural justice, which are conformable to those interests. (*Loc. cit.*, n. 61.)

Montesquieu would have had no quarrel with this point of view, for it is understood throughout *L'Esprit des Lois*. In chapter 15 of Book XXVI he states:

Comme les hommes ont renoncé à leur indépendance naturelle pour vivre sous des lois politiques, ils ont renoncé à la communauté naturelle des biens pour vivre sous des lois civiles.

Ces premières lois leur acquièrent la liberté; les secondes la propriété.

Or again:

Quand la loi politique, qui a établi dans l'État un certain ordre de succession devient destructrice du corps politique pour lequel elle a été faite, il ne faut pas douter qu'une autre loi politique ne puisse changer cet ordre; et bien loin que cette même loi soit opposée à la première, elle y sera dans le fond entièrement conforme, puisqu'elles dépendront toutes deux de ce principe; LE SALUT DU PEUPLE EST LA SUPRÊME LOI. (Bk. XXVI, chap. 23.)

It is quite inconceivable that Montesquieu would have denied the right to alter civil law while maintaining the right to alter constitutional law. Indeed, the following is a characteristic statement:

Je voudrais que ceux qui lisent les lois romaines distinguassent bien ces sortes d'hypothèses d'avec les sénatus-consultes, les plébiscites, les constitutions générales des empereurs, et toutes les lois fondées sur la nature des choses, sur la fragilité des femmes, la foiblesse des mineurs et l'utilité publique. (Bk. XXIX, chap. 17. *Italics mine.*)

⁶¹ *Of Justice*, II, pp. 190-191. It will be noted that, although the date of publication of this work is given as 1751, Montesquieu is referred to as "A late author." I suspect that the expression, if not the whole passage, was an interpolation in a later edition, and that Green and Grose neglected to remark the fact. As is well-known, they used the edition of 1777 as the basis of their work.

The fact is, that owing perhaps to Hume's more psychological approach,⁶² he was unwilling to admit such theories as that of climate, even where they were not necessarily inimical to his own. It was natural that he should exalt *moral* causes rather than *physical* and that he should overestimate the importance which Montesquieu himself gave to the latter. As we shall see when we discuss *Of National Characters*, he attempted in that essay to dismiss the question once and for all. Yet he was continuously haunted by it. At the end of the essay *Of Commerce*,⁶³ for instance, he poses the question:

What is the reason why no people living between the tropics could ever attain to any art or ability, or reach any police in their government, and any military discipline, while few nations in the temperate climates have been altogether deprived of these advantages? (I, p. 298 ff.)

And he feels himself impelled to answer:

It is probable that one cause of this phenomenon is the warmth and equality of weather in the torrid zone, which render clothes and houses less requisite for the inhabitants, and thereby remove, in part, that necessity which is the great spur to industry and invention. (*Ibid.*, p. 299.)

It is hardly necessary to point out how close this is to Montesquieu's theory as to the relative industry of peoples of temperate and those of warm climates.

The question arises again in *Of Taxes*,⁶⁴ where, in the opening paragraphs, he observes in the sense of Montesquieu the effects of geographic position and fertility of land on the comparative prosperity of states.⁶⁵ Physical causes are treated extensively in *Of the*

⁶² I mean, of course, as opposed to Montesquieu's essentially sociological treatment of his subject.

⁶³ First published in *Political Discourses* (1752).

⁶⁴ First published in *Political Discourses*, (1752) I, pp. 356 ff.

⁶⁵ There is an interesting comparison of texts possible here, which, since it does not bear directly on our chapter we prefer to give in footnote; Hume opens his essay *Of Taxes* with the following remark:

"There is a prevailing maxim, among some reasoners, that every new tax creates a new ability in the subject to bear it, and that each encrease of public burdens encreases proportionately the industry of the people. This maxim is of such a nature as is most likely to be altogether denied; but it must be owned, when kept within certain bounds, to have some foundation in reason and experience." (I, p. 356.)

Montesquieu was not inclined to view the maxim with quite so open a mind as Hume:

"C'est la facilité de parler, et l'impuissance d'examiner, qui ont fait dire que plus les sujets étoient pauvres, plus les familles étoient nombreuses; que, plus on étoit chargé d'impôts, plus on se mettoit en état de les payer; deux sophismes qui ont toujours perdu et qui perdront à jamais les monarchies." (*L'Esprit des Loix*, Bk. XXIII, chap. 11.)

Populousness of Ancient Nations, though for the most part from a different point of view, and since that essay has been dealt with elsewhere (Part I, *MLQ* II, 1, pp. 31 ff.), we shall not enlarge upon it here.

Hume's essay *Of National Characters*⁶⁶ deals exclusively with the problem of the attribution of national characteristics. Quite evidently he felt it vital to his system to refute the argument for physical determinism. Curiously enough, there are in it no direct references to Montesquieu. Nor, as far as I can discover, is there any conclusive evidence available of Montesquieu's influence upon it.⁶⁷ But the subject-matter is so close to that of Books XIV-XVII of *L'Esprit des Lois* that it affords very interesting comparisons between the two men's thought, and I hope to show that certain passages at least of Hume's text appear so obviously to be intended as refutations of Montesquieu that, bearing in mind the reference in *Of Justice* quoted above (pp. 231-2), we are almost forced to the conclusion that it was written under the inspiration of the French work.

The opening paragraph of the essay remarks that:

The vulgar are apt to carry all *national characters* to extremes; . . . Men of sense condemn these undistinguishing judgments; though at the same time they allow that each nation has a peculiar set of manners, and that some particular qualities are more frequently to be met with among one people than among their neighbours. (I, p. 244.)

Hume then proceeds, in his second paragraph, to remark that these national characters are sometimes accounted for by moral, sometimes by physical causes. Moral causes in his definition are:

. . . the nature of the government, the revolutions of public affairs, the plenty or penury in which the people live, the situation of the nation with regard to its neighbours and such like circumstances. (I, p. 244.)

⁶⁶ This essay was included for the first time in the third edition of *Essays Moral and Political* (1748). The first information we have regarding this edition is a notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Nov., 1748). That is, it appeared in the first of Hume's works to appear after his return from Turin, where we know he read Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des Lois* for the first time—see letter of Hume to Montesquieu (10 April, 1749), in *Correspondance de Montesquieu*, also published by Greig in his edition of Hume's letters. He says:

"Ayant appris par mon ami, M. Stuart, que vous aviez eu la bonté de m'envoyer un exemplaire de *l'Esprit des lois*, que j'avais lu l'automne passé en Italie avec tant de plaisir et de profit . . ."

There is therefore good grounds for the assumption that this essay was written, if not as a reply to Montesquieu, at least with *L'Esprit des Lois* still fresh in Hume's mind. Mr. Fletcher gives the date of the *Essay* as 1742, but I do not know on what authority. (*Montesquieu and English Politics* (1939), p. 95, n. 2.)

⁶⁷ But see the bibliographical facts, n. 66.

By physical causes he means:

... those qualities of the air and climate which are supposed to work insensibly on the temper, by altering the tone or habit of the body. (I, p. 244.)

In three brief ensuing paragraphs it is stated that the influence of moral causes may be taken as axiomatic. The rest of the essay is an attempt at refutation of any possible influence of climate on national character. He states:

As to physical causes, I am inclined to doubt altogether of their operation in this particular; nor do I think that men owe anything of their temper or genius to the air, food or climate. (*Ibid.*, p. 246 ff.)

The arguments in favor of this position are gathered under nine headings, of which the following is a résumé:

A long established government will produce a uniformity of character.

Small contiguous nations often have very dissimilar characters.

"National character commonly follows the authority of government to a precise boundary."

A set of men bound together by common interests, etc., will maintain its character, though its members be widely scattered (e.g., Jews, Armenians, Jesuits).

Two nations inhabiting the same country, but separated, say by language or religion, will often maintain their differences of character (e.g., Turks and Greeks).

Colonials tend to keep the characteristics of their mother nation.

Where there is much intercommunication between two nations they often interchange customs.

There is often a "wonderful mixture of manners and characters in the same nation. . . . And in this particular the English are the most remarkable of any people that perhaps ever were in the world." (*Ibid.*)

We may well note in passing the essentially empirical and critical method which Hume employs, and upon which we have already had occasion to comment. For the moment, however, we are interested in showing that Montesquieu's arguments, if not his text, were very probably present to Hume's mind while he was writing his essay. To that end we shall compare one or two passages of the two authors, as follows:

Avec cette délicatesse d'organes que l'on a dans les pays chauds, l'âme est souverainement ému par tout ce qui a du rapport à l'union des deux sexes; tout conduit à cet objet. (Bk. XIV, chap. 2.)

It is pretended, that the sentiments of men become more delicate as the country approaches nearer to the sun. (I, p. 253.)

Dans les pays chauds, la partie aqueuse du sang se dissipe beaucoup par la transpiration; il y faut donc substituer un liquide pareil. L'eau y est d'un usage admirable; les liqueurs fortes y coaguleroient les globules du sang qui restent après la dissipation de la partie aqueuse. (Bk. XIV, chap. 10.)

In France and Italy, few drink pure wine, except in the greatest heats of summer; and indeed, it is then almost as necessary, in order to recruit the spirits, evaporated by heat, as it is in Sweden during the winter, in order to warm the bodies congealed by the rigour of the season. (I, p. 257.)

It is amusing to see how, especially in the latter example, Hume has given a new turn to physiological "facts" from which Montesquieu also argues, by giving him the lie on a question of manners.

The last five paragraphs of Hume's essay (I, pp. 256 ff.), which we shall not quote here, since they are too lengthy, deal exclusively with the supposed passion for drinking of northern peoples and that for sexual indulgence of southern races. They are in their entirety very reminiscent of Montesquieu's statements in his famous 14th Book, though they would appear to be an attempt to refute him on matters of fact. Montesquieu suggests that excessive sexual indulgence is a vice peculiar to southern nations, while in chapter 10 he states:

Une pareille loi [to that of Mahomet] ne seroit pas bonne dans les pays froids, où le climat semble forcer à une certaine ivrognerie de nation, bien différente de celle de la personne. L'ivrognerie se trouve établie par toute la terre, dans la proportion de la froideur et l'humidité du climat. (Bk. XV, chap. 10.)

Hume says:

But perhaps the fact is doubtful, that nature has, either from moral or physical causes, distributed these respective inclinations to the different climates . . . (I, p. 257)

and then he proceeds with a paragraph which attacks the very basis of Montesquieu's thesis:

But supposing the fact true, that nature, by physical principles, has regularly distributed these two passions, the one to the northern, the

other to the southern regions, *we can only infer, that the climate may affect the grosser and more bodily organs of our frame, not that it can work upon those finer organs on which the operations of the mind and understanding depend.* (*Ibid.*, p. 257. Italics mine.)

If we remember the famous physiological statements and especially the curious experiment on a sheep's tongue, described by Montesquieu in chapter 2 of Book XIV; if we remember that his whole argument for climatic influence on national character begins from the fact of alternate contraction and expansion of the "fibres" under changes of temperature, we can hardly escape the conclusion that Hume was attempting to answer him.

However, insistence on a possibly debatable "influence" of Montesquieu's thought on Hume's essay is unnecessary. For in any case a comparison of the two men's work offers an interesting and typical contrast. It may be taken for granted at this date, that, no matter how fruitful Montesquieu's theory of climate proved to be, the physiological and other bases which he offered in support of it were inadequate. It is typical of Hume that, in his *Treatise*, the question should have found no place at all. Hume's approach was, as we have remarked, psychological and moral. When the problem forced itself upon his notice, however, he approached it in a mood of empirical scepticism comparable to that of Voltaire.⁶⁸ Montesquieu was inclined to explain observed sociological facts on the basis of a theory, which, however brilliant, was poorly substantiated. Hume's sceptical mind refused to accept a theory to which he felt there were too many exceptions, especially since, rightly or wrongly, he felt it to be inimical to his own views. Montesquieu's method was essentially Cartesian, and this Cartesianism went much deeper than the mere form into which his *Esprit des Lois* was cast. On the other hand, there is also no doubt that he wished to be empirical, and that in his curiosity for facts he shared much with the truly empirical minds of his age.⁶⁹ That Hume mistakenly thought him to be a determinist is only incidental; the real clash between the two minds was one of temperament and method. There was no "will-to-believe" in Hume,

⁶⁸ Says Voltaire: "Je ne chercherai point si Dieu a ses lois, ou si sa pensée, sa volonté, sont la seule loi; si les bêtes ont leurs lois, comme dit l'auteur;

Ni s'il y avait des rapports de justice avant qu'il existât des hommes: ce qui est l'ancienne querelle des réaux et des nomineaux. . . .

Ni si le monde intelligent n'est pas si bien gouverné que le monde non intelligent, et pourquoi;

Ne nous jouons point dans les subtilités de cette métaphysique; gardons nous d'entrer dans ce labyrinthe. (*Commentaire sur L'Esprit des Lois*, Moiland, XXX, p. 408.)

⁶⁹ See C. Lanson, *op. cit.*, n. 56 this chapter for a good discussion of this curious dualism in Montesquieu's work.

as there was in the nature of Montesquieu.⁷⁰ It is perhaps of interest to remark here that Hume clashed with continental determinists of both varieties. The famous anecdote with regard to the Baron d'Holbach and his company of atheists may or may not be apocryphal, but is illustrative of Hume's critical attitude to materialism. On the other hand, a determinist of the other camp, though of such a philosophic temper as Maupertuis, could find no aid or comfort in Hume.⁷¹ Ecclesiastical critics finally decided that Montesquieu was safe—if one carefully avoided the too daring passages of *Lettres Persanes*.⁷² But with Hume all was in flux; and they wished that like Heracleitus, he and his works might be dead.

WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

So much attention has been paid to Montesquieu's more strictly political ideas, that his sociological interests have perhaps been unduly neglected. From the time of Voltaire until comparatively recently the traditional critical standpoint was to regard *Lettres Persanes* and particularly the treatment of the harem situations as a piece of youthful folly which might be excused the man who later was to write *L'Esprit des Lois*.⁷³ Yet as Carcassonne points out, the question of polygamy is treated extensively in *L'Esprit des Lois*,⁷⁴ the problem of divorce receives attention there as well as in earlier work, and it is not difficult to remove the thin coating of *gauloiserie* that is Montesquieu's habitual varnish for serious ideas and discover a very definite theory of the social problems involved in sexual relationships.

Briefly Montesquieu began from the viewpoint that a woman is a person in her own right and should be regarded socially and legally as such. That is the basic significance of the "harem plot"

⁷⁰ I am inclined to think Montesquieu was entirely sincere when he made the very Cartesian statement: "Cette loi qui, imprimant dans nous-mêmes l'idée d'un créateur, nous porte vers lui, est la première des lois, . . . etc. (*L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. I. chap. 2.) However, as eminent a commentator as Faguet states: "Il a l'âme la moins religieuse qui soit." (*XVIII^e Siècle*, p. 140.)

⁷¹ See my introduction, p. 27, n. 16; p. 28, n. 20.

⁷² See for example, *Les Trois Siècles de la Littérature Française etc.*, by De Castres [Antoine Sabatier] (La Haye, 1781). He says, (III, p. 347 ff.) "Si dans les *Lettres Persanes*, la vivacité de la jeunesse, une licence qu'on ne peut trop condamner, l'ont engagé quelquefois à des peintures ou à des discussions trop libres, ce n'a été, dans lui, que des moments d'ivresse qui passent rapidement, et après lesquels la saine raison reprend son empire."

⁷³ Voltaire opens his *Commentaire sur L'Esprit des Lois* with the statement: "Montesquieu fut compté parmi les hommes les plus illustres du XVIII^e siècle, et cependant il ne fut pas persécuté; il ne fut qu'un peu molesté pour ses *Lettres persanes*, ouvrage imité du *Siamois* de Dufresny, et de *l'Espion turc*; imitation très-supérieure aux originaux, mais au-dessous de son génie." (Moland, XXX, p. 405.)

⁷⁴ In his edition of *Lettres Persanes* (Paris, 1929), pp. XXII ff.

in *Lettres Persanes*. In the famous final letter of that work, Roxane, magnificent in her tragic revenge on the coldly jealous Usbek, asks:

Comment as-tu pensé que je fusse assez crédule pour m'imaginer que je ne fusse dans le Monde que pour adorer tes caprices? que, pendant que tu te permets tout, tu eusses le droit d'affliger tous mes désirs?

And she answers her own rhetorical question with a declaration of independence:

Non! j'ai pu vivre dans la servitude, mais j'ai toujours été libre: j'ai réformé tes loix sur celles de la Nature, et mon esprit s'est toujours tenu dans l'indépendance.⁷⁵

This viewpoint, thinly concealed, is expressed theoretically by Rica in Letter 38:

C'est une grande question, parmi les hommes, de sçavoir s'il est plus avantageux d'ôter aux femmes la liberté que de la leur laisser; . . .

There follows a presentation of the arguments of Mussulmen and Christians for their differing attitudes. After a *gauloiserie* on the subject of marital fidelity in France, he proceeds:

C'est une autre question de sçavoir si la Loi naturelle soumet les femmes aux hommes . . . La Nature n'a jamais dicté une telle loi. L'empire que nous avons sur elle est une véritable tyrannie; elles ne nous l'ont laissé prendre que parce qu'elles ont plus de douceur que nous, et par conséquent, plus d'humanité et de raison . . .

Il faut l'avouer, quoique cela choque nos moeurs; chez les peuples les plus polis les femmes ont toujours eu de l'autorité sur leurs maris.

The passage we have just quoted from *Lettres Persanes*, if taken alone, would justify us in calling Montesquieu a feminist pioneer. However, gallant man as he was, he was a Frenchman and very much *père de famille*. It was a typically French attitude which he later took to the position of women in the family. What inspired him to the earlier statement would seem to be the sense of shock which he received on his first acquaintance with polygamous practices. His views on the latter never changed, even though in *L'Esprit des Loix* he carefully studied climatic and other conditions which might serve to explain them:

A regarder la polygamie en général, indépendamment des circonstances qui peuvent la faire un peu tolérer, elle n'est point utile au genre humain ni à aucun des deux sexes, soit à celui qui abuse, soit à celui dont on abuse. (Bk. XVI, chap. 6.)

⁷⁵ Both this and the foregoing quotation are from Letter 100.

In his *Défense* he takes particular pains to emphasize this attitude. (See the section *De la Polygamie*.)

For Montesquieu, marriage is a relationship based on natural law:

L'obligation naturelle qu'a le père de nourrir ses enfants a fait établir le mariage, qui déclare celui qui doit remplir cette obligation. (Bk. XXIII, chap. 2.)

He undoubtedly believed the French customs in the matter to be the best in existence. The following is a very typical expression of his opinion:

Le consentement des pères est fondé sur leur puissance, c'est à dire sur leur droit de propriété; il est encore fondé sur leur amour, sur leur raison, et sur l'incertitude de celle de leurs enfants, que l'âge tient dans l'état d'ignorance, et les passions dans l'état d'ivresse.⁷⁶

The man should be master in the family, he says in *L'Esprit des Lois*, in direct opposition to the statement we have quoted from *Lettres Persanes*.

Il est contre la raison et contre la nature que les femmes soient maîtresses dans la maison, comme cela étoit établi chez les Égyptiens. (Book VII, chap. 17.)

However, even in his later work, where it is clear that Montesquieu has clarified his ideas on these subjects, and has taken a more conservative view of woman's position in society, his basic attitude remains. This becomes more clear in passages where he deals with methods of separating badly matched couples. In *Lettres Persanes* he defends at some length the Roman practice in divorce on the ground that easy divorce laws are favorable to propagation.⁷⁷ This position is maintained in *L'Esprit des Lois* with no major modification, except in the manner of its expression.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Bk. XXIII, chap. 7. Note how the rigid legalism of the first sentence is typically softened by the paternal tone of the second. In chapter 8 of the same book Montesquieu views with some doubt the comparative freedom of English girls in their choice of a husband.

⁷⁷ Letter 116. Montesquieu is particularly outspoken in this letter. For example: "Le divorce étoit permis dans la religion payenne et il fut défendu aux Chrétiens. Ce changement, qui parut d'abord de si petite conséquence, eut insensiblement des suites terribles, telles qu'on peut à peine les croire.

"On ôta non seulement toute la douceur du mariage, mais aussi l'on donna atteinte à sa fin: en voulant resserrer ses noeuds, on les relacha; et, au lieu d'unir les coeurs, comme on le prétendoit, on les sépara pour jamais."

⁷⁸ See Bk. XVI, chaps. 15, 16 and especially the criticism of the laws of Constantine, Bk. XXIII, chap. 21. In the latter divorce is not specifically mentioned; the reader is left by Montesquieu to draw his own conclusions.

It is in chapter 15 of Book XVI that we have perhaps the clearest illustration of Montesquieu's maintenance of his view. We shall quote him at some length in order to show how conscious he was of legal disadvantages of women, and how deeply he felt that some of those disadvantages should be removed:

Il est quelquefois si nécessaire aux femmes de répudier, et il leur est toujours si fâcheux de le faire, que la loi est dure, qui donne ce droit aux hommes sans le donner aux femmes. Un mari est le maître de la maison; il a mille moyens de tenir ou de remettre ses femmes dans le devoir; et il semble que, dans ses mains, la répudiation ne soit qu'un nouvel abus de sa puissance. Mais une femme qui répudie, n'exerce qu'un triste remède. C'est toujours un grand malheur pour elle d'être contrainte d'aller chercher un second mari, lorsqu'elle a perdu la plupart de ses agréments chez un autre. . . .

C'est donc une règle générale que, dans tous les pays où la loi accorde aux hommes la faculté de répudier, elle doit aussi l'accorder aux femmes. Il y a plus: dans les climats où les femmes vivent sous un esclavage domestique, il semble que la loi doive permettre aux femmes la répudiation, et aux maris seulement le divorce. (Bk. XVI, chap. 15. Italics mine.)

We have already noted what was Montesquieu's considered attitude on the subject of polygamy. One of the main reasons which inspired this conclusion was the inevitable debasement of women which it involved. As he remarks with horror:

Dans les États mahométans, on est non-seulement maître de la vie et des biens des femmes esclaves, mais encore de ce qu'on appelle leur vertu ou leur honneur. C'est un des malheurs de ces pays, que la plus grande partie de la nation n'y soit faite que pour servir à la volupté de l'autre. (Bk. XV, chap. 12.)

In short, despite the apparent *galanterie* of tone, Montesquieu is quite serious when he says:

Il est heureux de vivre dans ces climats qui permettent qu'on se communique; où le sexe qui a le plus d'agréments semble parer la société; et où les femmes, se réservant aux plaisirs d'un seul, servent encore à l'amusement de tous. (Bk. XVI, chap. 11.)

His considered point of view, as expressed in *L'Esprit des Loix*, is that the marriage customs of the western world are probably the best for society; that woman should be in a dependent position, but that the very dependence of her position requires that she have adequate legal safeguards. This later attitude is undoubtedly more conservative than that suggested in *Lettres Persanes*. Whatever may have been the reason for the change it can hardly be considered fundamental. For Montesquieu, whatever may have been his failings as

to method, always kept one slogan clearly in mind: *Salus populi suprema lex*. The good of society demanded, he felt, that woman should be subordinated to man; this was "natural law." But the good of society demanded that no custom or law be allowed which tended to the degradation of woman and thus to that of society:

Il y a tant d'imperfections attachés à la perte de la vertu dans les femmes, toute leur âme en est si fort dégradée, ce point principal ôté en fait tomber tant d'autres, que l'on peut regarder, dans un état populaire, l'incontinence publique comme le dernier des malheurs, et la certitude d'un changement dans la constitution. (Bk. VII, chap. 8.)

Though Montesquieu may have "ornamented" his subject with *gauloiseries* there is no escaping the completely serious import of such passages as the one just quoted.

For any extensive treatment of these subjects by Hume we have to look to his later works. And of his later writings on them much is of a somewhat frivolous nature.⁷⁹ One of the few foibles of this fat, ungainly Scot was his pose as squire of dames—a pose which was very noticeable during his second stay in France.⁸⁰ It is natural therefore that this weakness should have found expression in a few trifles. However, he did find a place for a more serious treatment of the social questions involved in the relations of the sexes, and enough to enable a comparison between his views and those of Montesquieu.

There were two sections devoted to the subject in the latter part of the *Treatise*. The first, *Of the Amorous Passion*,⁸¹ does not concern us here; its interest is purely psychological. The second, *Of Chastity and Modesty*,⁸² holds much greater interest. Hume uses the problem of chastity as an illustration of his general principle that moral standards depend entirely on "utility"; that is, on the requirements of society:

Whoever considers the length and feebleness of human infancy, with the concern which both sexes naturally have for their offspring, will easily perceive, that there must be a union of male and female for the education of the young, and that this union must be of considerable duration. But in order to induce the men to impose on themselves the restraint, to which it subjects them they must believe, that the children are their own, and that their natural instinct is not directed to a wrong object, when they give a loose to love and tenderness. (*Treatise*, II, p. 331.)

⁷⁹ See particularly such essays as "Of Love and Marriage" (1741, withdrawn after 1760).

⁸⁰ Several letters between 1763-65 display it. See also the anecdote of Hume and a charade, J. Y. T. Greig, *David Hume* (New York, 1930), p. 297.

⁸¹ *Treatise*, Bk. II, Part 2, *Of Love and Hatred*, sec. XI.

⁸² Bk. III, Part 2, *Of Virtue and Vice in General*, sec. XII.

It will be seen at once that this is precisely the basis which Montesquieu gives for the practice of marriage.⁸³ However, Hume's interest, even in this section of the *Treatise*, is more strongly psychological than sociological, and he uses the subject merely to illustrate further his "sympathy" theory of morals. He goes on to show how chastity is induced in individuals by means of the social disapproval of unchastity:

In order, therefore, to impose a due restraint on the female sex, we must attach a peculiar degree of shame to their infidelity, above what arises merely from its injustice, and must bestow proportionable praises on their chastity. (*Treatise*, II, p. 332.)

The most interesting expression of Hume's opinions on the subject is to be found in *Of Polygamy and Divorces*.⁸⁴ It would appear to have been written, at least in part, under the inspiration of *Lettres Persanes*, which he quotes in one place.⁸⁵ The essay opens with a paragraph which might well have been penned by Montesquieu himself. Hume defines marriage as a contract entered into by mutual consent for the purpose of propagation. He then proceeds:

A man, in conjoining himself to a woman, is bound to her according to the terms of his engagement: In begetting children, he is bound, by all the ties of nature and humanity, to provide for their subsistence and education. When he has performed these two parts of his duty, no one can reproach him with injustice or injury. And as the terms of his engagement, as well as the methods of subsisting his offspring, may be various, it is mere superstition to imagine, that marriage can be entirely uniform, and will admit only of one mode or form. (II, p. 231 ff.)

Hume then discusses, quite in Montesquieu's fashion, various strange customs with regard to marriage and finally begins his treatment of the question of polygamy. He opens this part of his essay by a paraphrase of Usbek's words:

L'amour, parmi nous, ne porte ni trouble ni fureur; c'est une passion languissante, qui laisse notre âme dans le calme; la pluralité des femmes nous sauve de leur empire; elle tempère la violence de nos desirs. (Letter 56.)

Hume says:

⁸³ *L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. XXIII, chap. 2.

⁸⁴ First published in *Essays Moral and Political*, II (1742).

⁸⁵ "In Europe, 'tis true, fine bred people make it also a rule never to talk of their wives. . . .

"The author of the PERSIAN LETTERS has given a different reason for this polite maxim. Men, says he never care to talk of their wives in company, lest they should talk of them before people, who are better acquainted with them than themselves." (II, p. 236, n. 3. The passage is from Letter 55.)

The advocate for polygamy may recommend it as the only effectual remedy for the disorders of love, and the only expedient for freeing man from that slavery to the females, which the natural violence of our passions has imposed upon us. (II, p. 233.)

and then he replies to the argument with Montesquieu-Usbek's own statement,⁸⁶ that :

... it may be urged with better reason, that this sovereignty of the male is a real usurpation, and destroys that nearness of rank, not to say equality, which nature has established between the sexes. (II, p. 234.)

The rest of Hume's argument against polygamy is entirely in the sense of Montesquieu, and depends largely on the antisocial effects of the practice. Polygamy results not only in the degradation of women, but in jealousy so strong as to destroy the possibility of friendship. In an additional paragraph, added in 1758,⁸⁷ Hume noted the evil consequences of polygamy on children. It would appear that this passage was added as a result of reading *L'Esprit des Lois*, as the following comparison will illustrate :

The bad education of children, especially children of condition, is another unavoidable consequence of these eastern institutions. Those who pass the early part of life among slaves, are only qualified to be, themselves, slaves and tyrants; and in every future intercourse, either with their inferiors or superiors, are apt to forget the natural equality of mankind.

Dans les États despotiques, chaque maison est un empire séparé. L'éducation, qui consiste principalement à vivre les autres, y est donc tres-bornée; Elle se réduit à mettre la crainte dans le coeur, et à donner à l'esprit la connoissance de quelques principes de religion fort simples. Le savoir y sera dangereux, l'émulation funeste; et, pour les vertus, Aristote ne peut croire qu'il y en ait quelq'une de propre aux esclaves; ce qui borneroit bien l'éducation dans ce gouvernement. (*L'Esprit des Lois*, Bk. IV, chap. 3.)

What attention, too, can it be supposed a parent, whose seraglio affords him fifty sons, will give to instilling principles of morality or science into a progeny, with whom he himself is scarcely acquainted, and whom he loves with so divided an affection? (II, p. 235.)

[La Polygamie] n'est pas non plus utile aux enfants; et un de ses grands inconvénients est que le père et la mère ne peuvent avoir la même affection pour leurs enfants; un père ne peut pas aimer vingt enfants, comme une mère en aime deux. (Bk. XVI, chap. 6.)

⁸⁶ In Letter 38, quoted *supra*.

⁸⁷ In *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*.

Hume, therefore, rejects polygamy on the same grounds as Montesquieu, that it degrades women, that it destroys friendship among men and that it inevitably results in the education of a nation of slaves. But Montesquieu, particularly in *Lettres Persanes*, has advocated greater freedom in divorce. Repeating his method, Hume proceeds to paraphrase Usbek's argument:

How often does disgust and aversion arise after marriage, from the most trivial accidents, or from an incompatibility of humour; where time, instead of curing the wounds, proceeding from mutual injuries, festers them every day the more, by new quarrels and reproaches? Let us separate hearts, which were not made to associate together. Each of them may, perhaps, find another for which it is better fitted. At least, nothing can be more cruel than to preserve, by violence, an union, which, at first, was made by mutual love, and is now, in effect, dissolved by mutual hatred.

But the liberty of divorces is not only a cure to hatred and domestic quarrels: It is also an admirable preservative for keeping alive that love, which first united the married couple. The heart of man delights in liberty: The very image of constraint is grievous to it: When you would confine it by violence, to what otherwise has been its choice, the inclination immediately changes, and desire is turned into aversion. If the public interest will not allow us to enjoy in polygamy that variety, which is so agreeable in love: at least, deprive us not of that liberty, which is so essentially requisite. In vain you tell me, that I had my choice of the person, with whom I would conjoin myself. I had my choice it is true, of my prison; but this is small comfort, since it must still be a prison. (II, p. 237.)

Le divorce étoit permis dans la religion payenne, et il fut defendu aux Chrétiens. . . .

On ôta non seulement toute la douceur du mariage, mais aussi l'on donna atteinte à sa fin; en voulant resserrer ses noeuds, on les relacha; et, au lieu d'unir les coeurs, comme on le prétendoit, on les sépara pour jamais.

Dans une action si libre, et où le coeur doit avoir tant de part, on mit la gêne, la nécessité et la fatalité du Destin même. On compta pour rien les degoûts, les caprices et l'insociabilité des humeurs; on voulut fixer le coeur, c'est-à-dire ce qu'il y a de plus variable et de plus inconstant dans la nature; on attacha sans retour et sans esperance des gens accablés l'un de l'autre et presque toujours mal assortis; et l'on fit comme ces tyrans qui faisoient lier des hommes vivans à des corps morts.

Rien ne contribuoit plus à l'attachement mutuel que la faculté de divorce: un mari et une femme étoient portés à soutenir patiemment les peines domestiques sachant qu'ils étoient maîtres de les faire finir, et ils gardoient souvent ce pouvoir en main toute leur vie sans en user, par cette seule considération qu'ils étoient libres de le faire. (Letter 116.)

After this presentation of the arguments for divorce Hume rejects it on the grounds that the children of a broken union cannot be satisfactorily educated; that though it is true that the human heart seeks liberty, it also easily submits to necessity—it is passion, not “the calm and sedate affection” of married people, that is restless; there can be no quiet trust between man and wife unless their union be entirely permanent. Finally, in typical fashion, Hume appeals to experience, and contrary to Montesquieu finds that Roman history, far from proving divorce a practice favorable to propagation, shows it to be prejudicial to society:

At the time when divorces were most frequent among the ROMANS, marriages were most rare; and AUGUSTUS was obliged, by penal laws, to force men of fashion into the married state. (II, p. 239.)

He concludes, however, with a statement which, in general would have been subscribed to by Montesquieu in his final period:

The exclusion of polygamy and divorces sufficiently recommends our present EUROPEAN practice with regard to marriage. (II, p. 239.)

Of those comparisons which we have chosen to make between Montesquieu's thought and Hume's this is perhaps the least satisfactory, because Hume did not devote to the subject as much space as to the others we have considered. But his essay illustrates once again both the interest with which he read Montesquieu and the critical attitude with which he did so. It also illustrates the basic harmony between the two men's thought. For the question at issue between them here was not the end to be obtained—both were deeply concerned with the preservation of society and of the dignity of man; both were convinced that polygamy was detrimental to that end, although they refused to view the custom with the eyes of obscurantism and insisted on studying it as an accepted sociological fact. They differed in their views on divorce; but we may with some justice doubt whether Montesquieu was as enthusiastic in its favor by 1748 as had been the young Parisian wit that was the Montesquieu of 1721. And it is to be noted that both of them applied the same test to the custom. The question they both asked was—Is divorce, in practice, favorable or detrimental to society? There is no trace, in either man's thought, of any consideration for the rights of ecclesiastical law to decide in the matter. Hume never mentions ecclesiastical law in his treatment; Montesquieu, in both *Lettres Persanes* and *L'Esprit des Loix* is indignant that the relations of the sexes, which are of interest only to the civil law, should ever have become the domain of the ecclesiastical lawyer.

CONCLUSION

The comparisons which we have been able to draw between the thought of Hume and Montesquieu are by no means complete, since we have restricted ourselves to fields in which Hume can be shown, with reasonable certainty, to have consulted the Frenchman's work. We have neglected, for example, their views on taxes, on commerce and industry and on aesthetics, a comparative study of which would undoubtedly be instructive. But our study does enable certain conclusions with regard to the two men and to the general development of ideas.

It is evident that Hume read Montesquieu extensively and that he was acquainted with *Lettres Persanes* by 1742 at the latest. Since several of his essays, notably *Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations* and *Of Polygamy and Divorces*, seem to have been directly inspired by his reading of the Frenchman, we may with some justice speak of an influence of Montesquieu on English thought through the agency of Hume, especially when we remember that Montesquieu's influence on political economists who were Hume's friends is acknowledged.⁸⁸

But perhaps it were better if we avoid the term "influence on English thought." The work of both Hume and Montesquieu, and especially that of the former, is an illustration of the reality of the republic of letters in the 18th century. It is clear that Hume felt no strangeness in the work of contemporary Frenchmen; that on the contrary, he was perhaps more willing to use French than English sources. There was nothing really foreign in Montesquieu's thought; he was interested in like questions with his British co-citizens of the republic; he was as willing to see the advantages of the English political system as Hume was eager to enjoy the social life of Paris.

In the republic of letters Hume represented a somewhat younger generation than Montesquieu. He was the contemporary and intimate friend of Diderot and D'Alembert, and brought to the questions he discussed a more empirical method than did the older man. Yet he shared with Montesquieu and Voltaire a more conservative

⁸⁸ F. T. H. Fletcher, in a series of articles, which although illuminating, can hardly be said to have exhausted the subject, has studied the influence of Montesquieu on writers such as Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith and Blackstone. The two former were intimates of Hume. See: "English Imitators of Montesquieu," *R.L.C.* (1933), pp. 490 ff., "L'Esprit des Lois before Early British Opinion," *R.L.C.* (1934), pp. 527 ff., "Influence of Montesquieu on English Political Economists," *Economic History* (Jan., 1934), pp. 77 ff. Since this essay was first written Mr. Fletcher has published his "Montesquieu and English Thought 1750-1800" (London, 1939). Mr. Fletcher has, however, not investigated the possibility of Hume's agency in popularizing Montesquieu's writings.

temper than the Encyclopedists displayed. In his criticism of Montesquieu's ideas we witness perhaps a transition to a more truly empirical method; we witness also the greater conservatism which English thought was to display throughout the latter half of the 18th century, a conservatism which perplexed those Frenchmen who, like the Encyclopedists and their disciples, wanted to pursue the methods of Locke and Newton to a remorselessly logical conclusion.

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THE PROBLEM OF UNITY AND INDIVIDUALISM IN ROMAINS' SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

By LELAND THIELEMANN

I. INTRODUCTION

M. Jules Romains has many times asserted that *Unanimisme* is not a frozen system of philosophical ideas, and that as its leading expositor he has sought continuously to avoid definitive Cartesian truths at all costs. While there might be some question whether this reservation of the right to change his mind is a proof of intellectual integrity or a refuge for inconsistency, there can indeed be no doubt that M. Romains' ideas have undergone considerable transformation since he first began writing almost forty years ago. What began as a mystical experience and a new literary preoccupation would seem to have provided the point of departure for a whole social philosophy, of which the central principle was a conviction of the bankruptcy of individualism in modern society. In more recent years, faced with the realities of fascism in Germany and Italy, and with the taunts of critics who have thought fascism to embody the logical conclusions of Unanimism, M. Romains has been both vigorous and persistent in denying that there is any legitimate filiation or reconciliation between the two philosophies. In the course of his several pronouncements on the subject, however, Unanimism has acquired new emphases which would seem to entail a far more inclusive repudiation of the original principles than M. Romains has so far been willing to make.

The most constant subject of M. Romains' intellectual explorations has from the beginning been the nature of the relationship between the individual and the group. As early as his first year at the Ecole Normale, he was investigating an aspect of the problem in the field of biology.¹ In an article written in 1908² he traced the literary and philosophic background of his belief that individuals were not the most "real" things in the world. In *La Vie unanime*, also of 1908, he depicted the restless ego, as Gide said in his review of the poem, "panting"³ to be swallowed up by the Group-spirit.⁴

¹ "Les Variations de l'individualité chez les thallophytes," cf. Frédéric Lefèvre, *Une heure avec . . .* (Paris: Flammarion, 1933), VI^e série, p. 242.

² "A Propos de l'unanimisme," *Grande revue* (25 juillet, 1908), L, 386-395.

³ *Nouvelle revue française* (1 février, 1909), no. 1, 98-101.

⁴ Cf. "La Vie unanime," *Mercury de France*: (Paris, 1913), 226.

Nous voulons librement que l'on nous asservisse;
Avoir un dieu vaut plus qu'avoir la liberté.

In 1925 Romains wrote⁵ that his doctrine was irreconcilably opposed to atomistic individualism, which he regarded as the "hérésie maïtresse." The era of subjectivism, he said in 1933,⁶ was in its death-throes. The individual *psyché* was not an archipelago of solitude; it was not a windowless monad.⁷ The two postulates of Unanimism were, first, a belief in the reality of the group-mind, and second, a faith in the ability of the human spirit to enter into direct, immediate and intuitive communication with the *unanime* ("Petite introduction," 162). The business of the Unanimist writer, therefore, was that of a *métasociologiste*—an explorer of the transcendent realities or the spirits of groups (p. 172). The unanimist experience itself was not unlike other varieties of mysticism. The individual allowed his mind to be possessed by the "dieu" of the group and his personality to become absorbed and annihilated in the bosom of the larger entity. He realized himself no longer as an isolated atom but as an instrument of the Group-spirit:

L'individuel se dissout. Nul ne pense
Au petit brin de chair et d'âme qu'il était.
Piétant sa douleur, son désir et sa haine,
Sa personne éphémère et son vouloir infirme,
Chaque homme prend l'essor et monte hors de soi.

Je ne m'aime plus, moi, unanime, je t'aime!
Ce n'est plus moi déjà qui pense dans moi-même,
Ta pensée apparaît au-dessus de la mienne
En gouttes d'huile . . .
Quelqu'un qui n'est pas moi devient dieu où je suis.⁸

Revolting at first against his annihilation, he came to acquire the mystic's vision; and recognizing the limitations of the individual *psyché*, he submitted voluntarily to submergence in the group and to the influence of the "unanime." In losing his life he would find it.

II. A SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY: THE WAR ESSAYS

But Unanimism was not merely a projection of the imagination or a discovery of a new "reality" which could be exploited by the novelist or poet; it was these things first of all, to be sure, as works like *La Vie unanime*, *Mort de quelqu'un*, *Les Copains*, and *Puisances de Paris* bear witness. But as early as 1910 Romains was also writing a *Manuel de déification* to serve as a ritual of instruction

⁵ "Petite introduction à l'unanimité," *Problèmes d'aujourd'hui*, Éditions Kra (Paris, 1931), p. 165.

⁶ *Une heure avec . . .*, p. 246.

⁷ "Petite introduction," *loc. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

⁸ *La Vie unanime*, pp. 47-48, 133.

for prospective *Unanimités*. In 1925 he wrote that Unanimism tended to become "une attitude générale de tout l'être pensant";⁹ it touched upon all departments of life, much as Christianity or Romanticism had done.¹⁰ The application of its general principles to the realm of social philosophy, then, was a natural development, of which the first published evidence dates from the World War. In 1915 Romain wrote a series of essays¹¹ for publication in the American press to give the American public his view of the war as a private French citizen. He contended that nationalism alone, a form of individualism, was responsible for Europe's collective suicide. Only by substituting a loyalty to the most embracing unanimism—a united Europe—he thought, could petty nationalistic unanimisms be undone. The blood that would flow, as he had written in *La Vie unanime*,¹² was blood from "la bête collective." The war was in reality only a civil war. Europe was culturally homogeneous; its social institutions were relatively uniform; and its diversity of races presented no insurmountable obstacles to unification. Europe's tragic flaw lay in her many local patriotisms; she was a prey to the poison called history. Men were born old with the prejudices of thousands of years, and all the highly electric frictions of the past had survived as articles of nationalistic traditions from generation to generation. Although Romain set himself on record as holding an Allied victory to be "en somme souhaitable dans l'absolu,"¹³ his reasoning was not likely to recommend itself to the official French censorship or the propaganda office. The war, he argued, was "inutile et mauvaise," and he would not be a party to the sophism that if something good should come out of it, men must be expected to believe that it could not have come otherwise than at the price of seven million lives (*Problèmes d'aujourd'hui*, p. 46). But as the war was already a year old, what chance was there that the ideal of a united Europe might still be realized? A German victory, he held, though it would be "stérile et plus probablement néfaste" (p. 49), would surely carry with it the idea of confederation, since before the outbreak of hostilities proponents of the idea had been more numerous in Germany than anywhere else. And a realist could not deny that the only historic experiments with unification had been made possible by conquest and military hegemony (p. 50-51). The greatness of Greece and Rome had not come about merely from universal recognition of

⁹ "Petite introduction," *loc. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁰ Cf. André Lang's interview with M. Romain in *Annales politiques et littéraires* (15 novembre, 1929), Tome 93, no. 2346, p. 452.

¹¹ "La Grande misère de l'Europe," "L'Europe et Holopherne," and "L'Unité européenne" in *Problèmes d'aujourd'hui*.

¹² *La Vie unanime*, p. 127.

¹³ *Problèmes d'aujourd'hui*, p. 48.

their superior cultures, nor had Christianity passed through the Middle Ages triumphantly by reason of its inherent Truth alone. If Napoleon had succeeded in unifying Europe in the 19th century, his statue would now adorn every crossroad in Europe (p. 50). The triumph of force, Romans concluded, was one of the stubborn facts of experience, and subsequent history would forget the details of executions if the edifice of accomplishment were sufficiently glorious.¹⁴ Hence, the argument that unity would be morally intolerable to the rest of Europe if imposed by Prussian Germany, Romans did not recognize as having any decisive validity:

... Je ne ferai pas valoir que l'Allemagne n'est ni moralement, ni intellectuellement, digne de la mission qu'elle s'arroge, et que beau-coup de peuples qu'elle prétend subjuguier ont sur elle maintes supériorités. Cet argument, qui paraît décisif pour des contemporains, n'a pas une très grande valeur aux yeux de l'histoire. Les compatriotes de Caton l'Ancien n'étaient pas des gaillards bien affinés ni bien sympathiques. Leur patrimoine intellectuel était nul, en face d'un héliénisme glorieux de huit siècles de haute culture. Et ne parlons pas de leur humanité. ... (*Problèmes d'aujourd'hui*, pp. 51-52.)

Nevertheless he asked his American readers not to desire a German victory, since its only moral "justification" (p. 52) would be unification of Europe after the war. And this, he contended, would be possible only if Germany could achieve definitive and total victory. The German military situation at its best, however, did not offer any such prospect. And even if Germany could attain total victory, she would be prostrate and preoccupied with internal reconstruction problems, having none of the resources necessary for the organization of European empire.

The simplicity of Romans' internationalism can be seen in his slogan: "L'unité d'abord, voilà le programme!" (*Problèmes d'aujourd'hui*, p. 64.) European unity was the absolute criterion, and it mattered little whether it be imposed by Romans or Greeks—Germans or French. The question "Unity for what?" seems not

¹⁴ The passage reads as follows: "Il est certain que Rome n'a pas usé d'onction et de douceur pour persuader aux peuples d'entrer dans la famille; il est certain que les protestations furent nombreux et véhéments; mais l'histoire a oublié tous ces détails d'exécution pour admirer seulement l'ampleur et la solidité de l'édifice." (*Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.)

The writer recently had the opportunity to question M. Romans concerning his point of view in the last war, and when this passage was cited, M. Romans explained that the whole point of the essay was to give the Germans every benefit of the doubt in the matter of German "war aims" and then to show that their case was still indefensible. Asked if his argument was applicable to the present war, he replied that there could be no possible comparison between the "new order" of Nazi ambition and that of Kaiser Wilhelm or the Ancient Roman Empire. The writer is of the opinion that this argument is on a wholly different plane from that of "L'Unité européenne" of 1915.

to have occurred to him. Before the fall of France in 1940, M. Romains gave a speech before the American Club in Paris in which he referred with pride to his conviction of 1915 that Europe must become a federal union, admitting to certain misgivings about the war aims of the Allies in the World War. He did not, however, confront his American audience of 1940 with any of the sophistries in defence of the Allied cause that his "L'Unité européenne" had exhibited.

III. FASCISM

Further indication of Romains' indifference to the ethical purposes of "unity" is to be seen in a collection of short stories, *Sur les quais de la villette*. The unanimist phenomenon fascinates him so much that he can describe the unanimism of an army called out to put down a strike¹⁵ with as much empathy as he can that of the strikers.¹⁶ Unanimism would seem to have become a Good beyond ordinary good and evil, the corollary being that all purposes to which the Group is devoted are evidently blessed *ipso facto*.¹⁷ This amorality in some of Romains' early thinking indeed gives off a "subtile odeur d'anarchie,"¹⁸ of which he once boasted as proof of Unanimism's incompatibility with authoritarianism. But the question of consistency with certain of his later writings remains to be examined.¹⁹

This indiscriminating enthusiasm for unity may perhaps be the key to Romains' early reactions to fascism. It cannot now be denied that Romains' first accounts of the fascist system were somewhat less than objective. In Italy, according to Romains, fascism had come to power in order to put an end to the internal disorders inspired by the Communists. His explanation follows the familiar formula: the trains no longer ran on time; subordinate officials showed no respect for the customers; and in short, anarchy was

¹⁵ "La Prise de Paris."

¹⁶ "La Charge des autobus."

¹⁷ When the writer asked M. Romains whether he thought that there was any truth in the charge that his early *Unanimisme* was characterized by this intellectual or moral promiscuity, he replied of course in the negative, saying that it was quite permissible for a novelist to give a realistic description of a crime from the psychological point of view of the criminal: had he not, for instance, written a *Crime de Quinette*? When asked if he could write a novel from the same "realistic" point of view about the "unanimisme" of Nazi Germany, he replied vigorously in the affirmative. The writer still reserves his doubts.

¹⁸ "Petite introduction à l'unanimisme," *loc. cit.*, p. 178.

¹⁹ Since unity is always relative to a given frame of reference, group loyalties must necessarily be exclusive as well as inclusive. The unity of the strikers and the unity of the army in *Sur les quais de la villette*, for example, may become in the larger sphere of national life social anarchy of the first magnitude, just as highly organized nationalisms (as in *Verdun*) may mean anarchy in an international context. Romains' writings as a whole present a confusing and contradictory solution to the problem of the hierarchy of groups.

rampant until the fascists took control.²⁰ Internal discontent and conflict were the curse of all occidental society, which fascism would make "un effort positif" to remedy:

Il (le fascisme) essaye de mettre debout une société moderne, dont enfin les gens, chacun à leur place [*sic*], se déclarent contents de faire partie; où l'ouvrier ne considère pas l'usine comme un bagne provisoire; l'ingénieur, le directeur, leur bureau comme un blockhaus assiégé par une populace ennemie; où les ordres soient donnés avec une certaine confiance, reçus et exécutés avec un certain plaisir, du moins avec une certaine bonne humeur; où la paix sociale ne soit pas une trêve entre deux adversaires qui se guettent, mais l'état régulier d'un organisme dont les fonctions s'équilibrent bien. ("La Crise du marxisme," p. 183.)

Applied to Germany, in other words, fascism would lead her back to *Gemütlichkeit*, sweetness and light, restoring confidence through the gentle eradication of dissidence. To be sure, he could not be certain that fascism in Italy actually had realized "fût-ce un coin de cette idylle"; however it is evident that he thought this aspect of the fascist ideal society commendable, in any case. He quotes ("La Crise du marxisme," pp. 181-2) with apparent approval a remark of Taine to the effect that the people of the 17th century, and even of the Middle Ages, had been happier by far than were the peoples of the contemporary world, because of a spiritual cohesion in feudalism which was absent in democratic culture. And from the advent of fascism in Italy and Germany and of Communism in Russia, Romans concluded (p. 184) that the world was coming to realize again the necessity of a return "à l'euphorie collective." In "La Crise du marxisme" (pp. 182-3), after arguing that the appeal of Marxism was religious rather than scientific, he added that another of its serious faults was that it preached struggle instead of unanimity, thereby rendering the working class morally isolated from the rest of humanity. A certain amount of dissidence he was willing to tolerate as salutary so long as it did not become permanent or take on serious proportions. "Il faut qu'une société se décide un jour ou l'autre à être content. Grâce à une révolution, si c'est nécessaire. En se passant de révolution, si c'est possible" (p. 185).

Without digressing to comment on the fallacies in M. Romans' analysis itself, we are justified at least in underscoring the central importance attached to the principle of unity in his social philosophy. So important in fact did it seem to Romans at the time that he was

²⁰ "La Crise du marxisme," *Problèmes européens* (Paris: Flammarion, 1933), 169.

apparently impervious to the methods which the Fascists and Nazis had employed to achieve it; lack of moral indignation on this score is tellingly conspicuous. Nor would he give any credence to the rumors abroad in Europe by 1934 concerning Hitler's ulterior motives. Hitler was to him merely one of history's egotists—motivated solely by a desire for personal grandeur, the realization of which was conditionate upon the grandeur of Germany.²¹ As for the means of achieving the latter, Romain was convinced that the Führer was in a state of *disponibilité* (*Le Couple*, pp. 30-31). Hitler had no "volonté coulée en bronze une fois pour toutes" (p. 26), and those who were saying that he intended war on France in so or so many years simply did not understand the psychology of these "poètes de l'action" (pp. 30-31). The German people under Hitler were capable of good faith (p. 52); if France went about the matter honestly, she could have a table-talk with the German rulers which would settle definitively all outstanding subjects of contention between the two countries (pp. 55-57). Germany being the sensitive and willful neighbor that she was, France must realize the folly of her policy of alliances which were once more encircling Germany in the determination to keep her in a state of inferiority and humiliation. This policy of intimidation Romain believed would leave to Hitler no visible way of achieving the German grandeur other than by military action.²²

²¹ *Le Couple France-Allemagne* (Paris: Flammarion, 1935), 28.

²² The contrast between this policy of friendship or appeasement toward Germany advocated by M. Romain in 1935 and the collective security policy which he has defended so staunchly since is as astonishing as Romain's conversion seems to have been sudden. In *Le Couple*, the emphasis is consistently placed upon the guilt of France; the arguments are now commonplaces, having been repeated so frequently by Hitler and the German propaganda ministry. Lest it be contended that the writer has misconstrued M. Romain's thought, the following passages are cited:

... Il serait fou d'imaginer qu'elle [L'Allemagne] la [la France] respectera dans tous les cas: si elle croit que cette force [militaire française] est à jamais dirigée contre elle et destinée à la maintenir indéfiniment dans un état d'infériorité, et d'humiliation, rien ne l'empêchera de jouer le tout pour le tout, après s'être rendue elle-même aussi forte que possible ... (p. 50).

... Car de même qu'il est insensé d'affirmer qu'Hitler veut absolument nous faire la guerre, il est insensé de croire qu'il ne veut pas absolument nous la faire. Et il nous la fera sûrement, si nous nous comportons en toute circonstance comme des gens qui, par toutes leurs démarches et attitudes même irréfutables, ne laissent au partenaire d'autre issue visible que la guerre (p. 31).

... Il n'y a pas, au sens mélodramatique où on paraît l'entendre, un vrai et un faux visages des maîtres du troisième Reich. Il y a un visage complexe, contradictoire, à la fois impulsif et surveillé, tenace et changeant, et dont les changements futurs dépendent de nous pour une part qui n'est pas petite (p. 35). ... Disons-nous bien que l'Allemagne d'Hitler ne se laissera pas plus encercler que l'Allemagne de Guillaume II. Elle préférera tout faire sauter, et elle en aura la force. C'est vous qui la lui aurez donnée. Plus vous fermerez et épaissirez le cercle, plus vous rendrez inévitable et irrésistible l'éclatement (p. 42).

The Nazis indeed had good reason to wish, as Goebbels did,²³ that men like Romains were in positions of power in France. Further evidence of their appreciation of his point of view came in 1938 when an issue of *Romanische Studien* was devoted to a study of Unanimism. Praising Romains for his emphasis upon *Gemeinschaftswerte*, the Nazi scholar concluded that while the Unanimist doctrines were not inspired directly by any particular affection for National Socialism, the fact of similarity of their basic principles was beyond question.²⁴ It would of course be unfair to contend that because a Nazi intellectual gives the Nazi salute to one he regards as a soldier in the same cause, M. Romains is *ipso facto* obliged to return the gesture. Yet this was not the first time that Romains had been claimed by a representative of an anti-democratic movement. As early as 1908, M. Jean-Marc Bernard, member of the *Action Française* Royalist group, had bestowed the same praise upon Romains as the Nazi scholar has done, and for the same reasons.²⁵ It would seem curious that both should have been as wholly mistaken in recognizing their intellectual fraternity as Romains has since claimed.²⁶

IV. ROMAINS' APOLOGIA

As early as the "Petite introduction" of 1925, Romains was already answering critics who had seen in Unanimism a social philos-

²³ See Romains' own testimony in *Sept mystères du destin de l'Europe*, Editions de la Maison Française, Inc. (New York, 1940), 247.

²⁴ Edgar Glässer, "Denkform und Gemeinschaft bei Jules Romains," *Romanische Studien* (Berlin, 1938), Heft 46, p. 81: "Jules Romains wird sich weniger um des Nationalsozialismus willen und kaum aus Begeisterung für unsere wuchshafte Gesetzlichkeit von Blut und Boden zur Erbauung an unserer Art von erlebtem Unanimisme bekannt haben. Er hat dies auch ziemlich zweifellos nicht aus einer ausgesprochenen politischen Zuneigung zu der einmaligen und einzigartigen Regierungsform des Nationalsozialismus getan, zumal Jules Romains Angehöriger der französischen Volksfront ist und als solcher sogar erlebt, dass rechtsradikale Pressorgane Frankreichs ihm dies verübeln. Für Jules Romains aber ist der nationalsozialistische Unanimisme eine — wenn auch der einzige zur Wirklichkeit gewordene — irdische Erfüllung seines Ideals, seiner Denkform."

²⁵ *Revue critique des idées et des livres* (25 juillet, 1908), II, 151. It should perhaps be mentioned, as Romains pointed out with considerable satisfaction in his "Petite introduction à l'unanimisme," that following Bernard's invitation to Romains to join the Royalist party and the Catholic Church, another member of the *Action française* movement, Eugène Marsan, cited certain points of difference between Romains and the Royalists which Bernard had disregarded. Marsan's emphasis was principally on the anti-rationalistic aspect of Unanimism and its confusion of ends and means. Contrary to the impression M. Romains gives of the skirmish, however, the differences cited by Marsan are not so fundamental as the similarities pointed out originally by Bernard.

²⁶ "Petite introduction," *loc. cit.*, p. 178; also in his profession of faith, *Une vue des choses*, Editions de la Maison Française, Inc. (New York, 1941), 43-44.

ophy which required the complete subjection of the individual to the group. His denial of the charges was categorical. Explaining away his youthful tirades against individualism as "une façon de parler,"²⁷ he argued that Unanimism was not a philosophy of action, but merely a recognition of new truths;²⁸ that just as the heliocentric theory of the universe did not make the earth any less precious to men living on it, neither did the recognition of the reality and importance of the group necessitate a jettison of individualist values.²⁹ But only a few sentences earlier he had argued that the era of individualism was already in the process of disintegration,³⁰ that, as if by the nature of the changes in society since the 19th century, it was now doomed beyond redemption. The analogy thus would seem to be inaccurate, for whereas Copernicanism said nothing about changes in man's universe, Unanimism affirmed not only a new order of facts but a displacement of the old. Romans' central argument, however, turned on a distinction between formal and real unanimisms:

... l'unanimité ne favorise ni l'idolâtrie des formes gouvernementales, ni les mécaniques juridiques d'oppression. ... La tyrannie actuelle, l'enserrement actuel et progressif de l'individu qui rendraient bientôt la société irrespirable, provient non pas d'unanimité instinctive au sein des masses modernes, mais d'une monstrueuse végétation juridique que l'individualisme n'a cessé de produire sans savoir la régler. ("Petite introduction," p. 178.)

This concept of spontaneous unanimism he elaborated again in his profession of faith of 1938, where its implications are more obvious:

... En tout cas, même autrefois, j'ai vivement insisté sur cette idée, que l'emprise des groupes sur l'individu ne se justifiait que dans la mesure où elle s'exprimait dans et par la spontanéité de l'individu ... L'unanimité postule la plus riche diversité possible des états de conscience individuels dans une "harmonie" destinée à valoir par sa richesse et son épaisseur.³¹

This theory of free allegiance to groups, or "libre respiration des multitudes" as Romans calls it, changing Unanimism to Pluranism as it does, can scarcely be held to make for social unanimity, for Romans has again reduced society to an arena of as many con-

²⁷ "Petite introduction," *loc. cit.*, p. 175.

²⁸ Cf. also the following passage in *Une vue des choses*, p. 41: "L'on m'a reproché d'avoir 'divinisé' les groupes. Et j'ai prononcé à ce sujet des mots dangereux, dans la mesure où ils pouvaient provoquer une confusion entre l'ordre du fait et l'ordre du droit, entre le réel et le souhaitable."

²⁹ "Petite introduction," *loc. cit.*, pp. 175-177.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 175: "... une ère individualiste, vieille de plusieurs siècles, ayant produit tout son développement et tous ses excès, devait finir, était en train de finir. ..."

³¹ *Une vue des choses*, pp. 42, 44.

flicting interests as are represented in freely organized groups. We are back again to the state of "anarchy" which, as Romains noted with satisfaction in "La Crise du marxisme," the fascists were making every effort to eliminate. The mechanics of M. Romains' resultant "harmony" are as mysterious as the mechanics of Leibnitz's "preestablished harmony" were to Candide. The danger that *unanimité instinctif* might become "aveugle"³² apparently did not worry Romains, and the essential problem of how much freedom is reserved to the individual once he has surrendered himself to the influence of the "unanime" remains untouched.

The metaphysics of unanimist group action, though meaningless to a culture which for the most part long since has ceased taking Plato literally, is nevertheless of central importance and must not be ignored. There exists, Romains holds, a transcendental realm which he designates by the term *psychic continuum*, within which are contained the spiritual counterparts of every human group. These latter entities, it would appear, descend automatically from the realm of Essence to impress themselves upon individuals exposed to a common stimulus, who thenceforth become agents of the "unanimistes." It is significant, however, that in almost all of Romains' Unanimist novels and short stories there is a single individual who serves as the conjurer or intermediary between the "unanime" and the group. If for the sake of clarification we may dispense with Romains' metaphysics, it would appear that the group consists of nothing more than a leader and his followers. In *Les Copains*, for example, which depicts a high degree of "spontaneous" or "voluntary" group unanimism, Bénin and Broudier clearly form the center of its mental processes. The scene describing the Indian file of the seven through the darkened hall illustrates the intimate organization of the group:

Ce fut une file indienne et aveugle. Chaque âme se donna sans réserve à la précédente. Il n'y a rien de plus naïf, de plus désarmé qu'une file indienne dans la nuit. Bénin seul existait avec plénitude. Il s'accroissait même. Tous les copains faisaient partie de son corps.

Bénin en arrivait à acquérir des pouvoirs nouveaux. Il se dirigeait avec aisance. Il avait l'impression d'y voir clair. Ni inquiétude, ni timidité . . .³³

This does not indeed seem to be Romains' "unanimité consciente."³⁴ By definition the condition of unanimist communion is a surrender of the individual critical mind to the presence of the "unanime";

³² "Petite introduction," *loc. cit.*, p. 179.

³³ *Les Copains* (Paris: Gallimard, 1922), 50.

³⁴ "Petite introduction," *loc. cit.*, p. 179; cf. also his use of the term in "Pour l'esprit et la liberté": Discours prononcés aux séances inaugurales des XIV^e et XV^e congrès de la fédération internationale P.E.N. (Paris: Gallimard, 1937), 22.

Bénin is the "unanime." M. Romains himself recently wrote, "J'ai toujours souligné l'extrême importance — pour le bien ou pour le mal — du chef,"⁸⁵ and that the Unanimist hero was the manipulator, the creator of reality, the modeler, animator and destroyer of groups.⁸⁶ What more poetic transliteration could be imagined of the *Führer-Prinzip* as elaborated by Sombart and other Nazi apologists? For regardless of whether or not the individual's initial allegiance to any unanimist group be given voluntarily, in the last analysis the problem of whether the unanimist group is "conscient" or "aveugle" depends upon the intelligence and good will of its leader. Seen against this background, M. Romains' observation that Shakespeare's Marc Antony scene was one of the first examples of Unanimism in literature assumes more than casual significance.⁸⁷

In 1936 Romains held forth again⁸⁸ on the incompatibility of Unanimism and authoritarianism. His speech left no doubt of the sincerity of his disapproval of the fascist régimes of Germany and Italy. His condemnation of certain fascist practices was as peremptory as his language was unequivocal. From the beginning of the century, he held, he had been trying to call the attention of his contemporaries to the fact of the existence of collective conscience, and to point out that its importance in contemporary times was advancing apace. Those who had thought him guilty of dubious prophesy, he believed, would surely be of his persuasion now if they would give but a moment's reflection to the orgies of collective passion which were convulsing the contemporary world. They must admit ("Pour l'esprit," p. 21), in short, that this "unanimité de fait," in all its aspects, was now the dominating spirit of the epoch. He saw no salvation in refusing to face this reality, or in taking refuge in a pious nostalgia for the individualism of the 19th century, "dont les conditions ne se retrouveront jamais plus" (p. 22). The only question was whether men were willing to stand by and be stamped by the Juggernaut of a blind, fanatic and barbarous unanimism, or whether they preferred an "unanimité conscient, rendu perméable à la lumière et à la raison, renseigné sur ses propres mobiles et ses propres périls, capable de critique et de liberté—bref un unanimisme tendu vers l'esprit." To these two possibilities there was no alternative; political unanimism was here to stay—the wave not only of the present, but of the future as well. The one was equivalent to freedom; the other, to subjection.

⁸⁵ *Une vue des choses*, p. 43.

⁸⁶ "Petite introduction," *loc. cit.*, pp. 180-181: "... Dans la continuité humaine, nous le voyons plonger le bras, remuer la pâte, pétrir."

⁸⁷ "A Propos de l'unanimisme," *loc. cit.*, p. 388.

⁸⁸ "Pour l'esprit et la liberté"; Discours prononcés aux séances inaugurales des XIV^e et XV^e congrès de la fédération internationale P.E.N.

One might with good reason object to the title of M. Romains' speech, for as a defence of "la liberté et l'esprit" his argument was almost wholly spurious. With what arguments could Romains the *Unanimiste* persuade German Nazis that National Socialism does not qualify eminently for the honorific classification of "unanimité conscient"? Is not the choice he allows us merely a choice between two forms of the same system? And is it not a contradiction of terms to speak of a "one-minded" or "unanimous" state which is capable of criticism and disagreement?³⁹ A specious impression is left, moreover, by Romains' claim that he had been the Cassandra of the impending débâcle. Not a single important work of his early writings (with the questionable exception of *Donogoo-Tonka* and *Knock*) was devoted to warning his contemporaries of the destructive potentialities of unanimism.

V. CONCLUSIONS

However much reason there is to quarrel with aspects of Romains' past, all his readers know him today as a man to whom the fascist regimentations are abhorrent. Indeed some ringing words in defence of the democratic freedoms have flowed from his pen at various times.⁴⁰ But recent history has provided no encouraging examples of the survival of that free intelligence which Romains prizes so highly, in societies which have drawn the logical political conclusions from the principles of intuition, group action, national unity and apotheosis of the group. It would seem that from the beginning

³⁹ Romains' comment in *Une vue des choses*, p. 43, that the Nazis entertained "une idée affreusement simpliste de l'unanimité . . ." is scarcely an adequate answer, for there can be no Pickwickian definitions of absolutes like unanimity.

⁴⁰ Passages can be picked out almost at random, e.g., (1) in *Sur les quais de la villette*, p. 90: "... Mais fusiller un homme parce qu'il a ses idées à lui! Au vingtième siècle? Autant se remettre à quatre pattes, et qu'ils nous fichent notre ration de foin."

(2) The whole of his 1937 P.E.N. speech the theme of which was "L'esprit n'est pas mobilisable."

(3) The last sentence of "La Crise du marxisme," *op. cit.*, p. 186: "Le jour où par une synthèse dont notre régime actuel nous fournit déjà les bases, nous saurions montrer au monde qu'une démocratie peut être hiérarchisée, selon d'autres lois que celle de l'argent, et retrouver l'euphorie sans sacrifier les libertés de l'homme, nous redeviendrons ce que nous fûmes tant de fois: les guides des autres peuples et les instituteurs de l'ordre le plus nouveau."

(4) The lines in the *Sept mystères*, p. 286, where Romains comes closest to a realization of the implications of Unanimist leadership: "... Il est très peu probable que tous les bons soient d'un côté et tous les méchants de l'autre. Mais cela dit, il n'en faut que reconnaître avec plus de force que certains 'systèmes' sont radicalement détestables, puisqu'ils ont pour effet incoercible de transformer en fous furieux de simples mégalomanes qu'un autre système eût rendus à peu près inoffensifs, et en serviteurs de la mauvaise volonté des hommes que leur nature inclinait peut-être vers la bonne volonté..."

M. Romain was both *Unanimiste* and individualist, and that when the threat of Nazi unanimism to the tradition of democratic individualism became apparent, his philosophy merely underwent a shift of emphasis. Prisoner of his *Unanimiste* reputation,⁴¹ he has made several attempts to rationalize his record by the addition of distinctions; in certain cases, such as the following in *Une vue des choses*, he has openly avowed certain mistakes in his past utterances:

Une erreur que j'aperçois maintenant dans mes pensées d'autrefois, et que j'ai corrigée, c'est de n'avoir pas assez marqué le rôle de la raison dans la vie individuelle ou collective. Sans un exercice vigilant et parfaitement libre de la raison, aucun progrès durable ne peut s'établir dans l'humanité, et tous les maux deviennent possibles. Ou la raison ne s'exerce que sur le plan de la conscience individuelle ou qu'entre des consciences individuelles qui se défendent de toute émotion collective et de tout entraînement par le groupe. Il résulte de tout cela que je crois à la valeur permanente du principe démocratique, et des institutions fondamentales de la démocratie.⁴²

These are straightforward words which indicate a drastic change of emphasis in Romain's thinking; they might indeed be interpreted as a repudiation of the whole intuitive, "group-spirit" method of procedure which was central to all his early definitions of Unanimism.

Has Romain, however, completely renounced his past? And if he has not, what is the present state of Unanimism? To these questions, M. Romain himself is obviously the only person qualified to speak with authority; the critic can only indulge in speculation. The conclusions of *Une vue des choses* would seem to insist upon the legitimacy and value of small-group unanimisms, like those described in *Sur les quais de la villette*, in *Puissances de Paris*, and defended in the "Petite introduction à l'unanimisme." But the qualifications that they should be encouraged in the richest possible variety and that submission to the group must be voluntary still invite the anarchy of group-atomism which Romain condemned so vigorously in "La Crise du marxisme." There would seem to be, in short, no longer any room for a Unanimist philosophy of state such as was envisaged in the essays of *Problèmes européens*. On the other hand, M. Romain's comment in the *Sept mystères* apropos of Goebbels' enthusiastic defence of Nazism, that "... après tout, j'aimerais qu'on me parlât de la démocratie, de la liberté, de la justice internationales, de la fraternité de tous les hommes avec cette ardeur. . ."⁴³ indicates something of the importance he still attaches to the psycholog-

⁴¹ See note 10, page 251.

⁴² *Une vue des choses*, pp. 47-48.

⁴³ *Sept mystères*, pp. 248-249.

ical factor of dynamic leadership which creates loyalties in the fashion of the Unanimist hero. It recalls Romains' curse, recorded in *Le Couple*, on the men of the Weimar Republic:

... Il [Hitler] n'est pas le seul non plus à mépriser les hommes de la république weimarienne, leur manque de décision et de courage, leur inaptitude à créer un enthousiasme quelconque, leur airs d'employés désorientés par le départ du patron. Et pouvons-nous être moins sévères que lui, quand nous avons vu ces hommes se laisser congédier piteusement, sans oser un geste pour défendre une république qu'ils n'avaient su animer d'aucune mystique républicaine ...⁴⁴

Though these words were written in 1934, it is likely that M. Romains would subscribe to them without much qualification today.

In conclusion, a few remarks may be ventured concerning the relationship of Unanimism to the society to which it was expounded. Intellectual historians of the future will doubtless record Unanimism as merely a reflection of a basically economic problem, as a symptom of an increasingly widespread protest against the Romantic and democratic liberties which economic dispossession has so frequently reduced to the liberty of death by spiritual if not physical isolation and starvation. Unanimism, like Romantic humanitarianism, would indeed seem to constitute a sense of readmission to membership and fraternity in the social community. But whether any extensive national or international unity will ever be voluntarily acclaimed in a society rent by so many disproportionate differences in levels of culture—not only economic, but social, educational and artistic—as modern society is, remains to be seen. While these disparities subsist, Unanimism, demanding as it does the suspension of the individual's critical faculties, can be perverted all too easily into an instrument for manipulating the group in the interests of whatever "unanime" happens to lead it. Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy have documented this proposition all too convincingly, and it is doubtless in recognition of the fascist experience with Unanimism that M. Romains has eliminated to a large extent the element of group mysticism from his political thinking.

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⁴⁴ *Le Couple France-Allemagne*, pp. 19-20.

DER ACKERMANN AUS BÖHMEN

A summary of recent research and an appreciation¹

By ERNST A. PHILIPPSON

*Der Ackermann aus Böhmen*² was written shortly after 1400 by a certain Johann—this name is found in an acrostic—who, according to his own statement, lived in Saaz, a German city in Northern Bohemia. Quite recently, the combined efforts of Czech historians³ and German philologists⁴ succeeded in identifying this Johann of Saaz with the *notarius et rector scholarium* of that city, a Johannes de Tepla, i.e., formerly of Tepl (also called after his birthplace: Johannes Henslini de Šitboř or Schüttwa) who served as *Stadtschreiber* of Saaz from 1383-1411 and thereafter at least for two years as *Stadtschreiber* of Prager Neustadt. (In 1415 his widow, Domina Clara, is mentioned in a document concerning the sale of his house.)

Der Ackermann aus Böhmen, his work, is a German dialogue between a widower called Ackermann, i.e., ploughman, who has just lost his beloved wife Margaretha, and Death, and this dialogue takes the form of a legal suit against a murderer, namely Death. Religious and philosophical arguments in the various speeches of the plaintiff, another Job, challenge the very existence of Death in God's creation. In the end, God himself has to step in as arbiter between the two.

The little book must have been a great literary success, for it is preserved in some fifteen manuscripts and seventeen early printings, the first printed edition being that of Albrecht Pfister of Bam-

¹ Based on a lecture delivered during the Graduate Conference on Renaissance-Studies at the University of Michigan, Summer Session, 1939.

² Editions by A. Bernt—K. Burdach in *Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation. Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Bildung*, Vol. III, Pt. 1, Berlin, 1917; and A. Hübner in *Altdeutsche Quellen*, ed. by U. Pretzel, H. 1, Leipzig, 1937. A translation into Modern German by A. Bernt appeared in the *Inselbücherei* as No. 198. Numbers after quotations in this article refer to chapters and lines of Burdach's edition. The sum and substance of K. Burdach's research is found in his commentary, *Der Dichter des Ackermann aus Böhmen und seine Zeit (Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation)*, Vol. III, Pt. 2), Berlin, 1926-1932.

³ Ferd. Tadra, in 1892; F. M. Bartoš in the *Prager Presse* of July 17, 1927; Febr. 4, 1931.

⁴ Alois Bernt, "Forschungen zum Ackermann aus Böhmen," *ZfdPhilologie*, LV (1930), 160-208; Karl Beer, "Einige Bemerkungen zur neueren Ackermannforschung," *ZfdPhil.*, LVI (1931), 183-185; L. L. Hammerich, "Der Dichter des Ackermann aus Böhmen," *ZfdPhil.*, LVI, 185-188; Karl Beer, "Neue Forschungen über den Schöpfer des Dialogs *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen*" im *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen*, III (Prag, 1934), 1-56; Anton Blaschka, "Ackermann-Epilog," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen*, LXXIII (Prag, 1935), 73-78 (with a miniature showing Johannes von Saaz).

berg in 1461. The work seems never to have been forgotten. Gottsched and Lessing read a copy printed by Pfister, Lessing in addition a manuscript (D) in the library of Wolfenbüttel; Friedrich von der Hagen, the early Germanist, edited it as a *Trostbüchlein* in 1824. Gervinus and Wackernagel praised it. In our century, a slightly modernized version was occasionally put on the stage. The reason for this astonishing vitality is twofold.

In the first place, the dialogue treats a most human problem, the death of a beloved person, and this perpetually recurring situation basic in everyone's life is approached with a suffering heart and a trembling voice. For there remains no doubt: the author is identical with the widower, Johann of Saaz who mourns the death of his first wife Margaretha.

In the second place there is the simple fact that the book is a genuine work of art.

However, the importance of *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen* is even far greater than that and for other reasons. The date 1400 suggests all the problems and uncertainties of a period in transition. Around 1400 nothing was settled in German culture; everything was on the move toward an unknown and different destiny which we now call "The Age of the Renaissance!" The language changed from Middle High German to Early Modern High German; medieval poetry gave way to prose; medieval religion and *Weltanschauung* were already on the point of being revolutionized by philosophers, heretics, and reformators, the ambassadors of the new individualism.

In spite of all these changes in the spiritual realm, German Renaissance literature had only faint beginnings in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries. Before Luther there is no definite date such as the birth of a writer, the publication of a book, or an historical event which we could definitely associate with the arrival of the new era. In German writing, there was no outstanding personality to push the doors wide open for the entry of humanistic ideas, the doors of the house of literature were only slightly ajar.

The change which overshadows all the many minor changes is perhaps the economical and social disintegration of the age of chivalry and the gradual development of an entirely new element in the social structure, i.e., the city with its bourgeoisie. The cities occupy the position left vacant by the knights, the position of those who represented the secular aspect of national life. Literature and arts cease to be the prerogative of the princely court. They now serve a new master, the bourgeoisie, and they themselves have become bourgeois.

Of course, there occurred no open break between the old and the new traditions; we find a transitional period which sometimes

strikes us as more medieval than modern. This is especially true of mixed forms such as the *Meistergesang*, the bourgeois descendant of the *Minnesang*.

For the high and choice, though in the end already shallow, art of this *Minnesang* degenerated into something sterile, wooden, and bizarre which we call *Meistergesang*. Only a thoroughly robust and healthy counter-current, comparable to the early rebellion of Neidhart von Reuenthal, was able to loosen the fetters of this oppressive heritage and to set free a new popular art in the *Fastnachtsspiel* which—although developing a literary tradition itself—never forgot its humble origin. For that reason, the poems and plays of Hans Sachs, written in the early 16th century, based on the genuine taste of the people, are today still alive, whereas the *Meistergesang* is merely a subject for philological research.

Ca. 1400, we find a fresh and buoyant spirit, though perhaps somewhat rude and unkempt, also in other literary forms: I refer here in the first place to the *Volkslied* which had always been a sort of popular companion of the *Minnesang*. From now on it becomes a definite literary entity appearing in the shape of broadsides (*Fliegende Blätter*) or little song-books. Quite a few of these songs or ballads are based on the themes of the *Minnesang* just as the so-called *Volksbücher* of the Fifteenth Century are chiefly prose-versions of the Middle High German epics.

German prose-writing as an art itself is derived from the Middle Ages, not so much from political and legal documents, as from translations and sermons—above all from the mystical literature with its tremendous creative powers in the fields of allegory and metaphor. A new addition to the prose-literature of the 15th century is, of course, the translations from contemporary Italian and French. Here again we find the bourgeoisie active in this new art which was predestined to pave the way for the triumphal entry of the new ideas, the new individualism, the new *Lebensgefühl*, the new devotion to classical antiquity. However, *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen* is slightly earlier than these humanistic translations.

Therefore, we have to face the momentous issue, whether the spirit of the Ackermann-Dialogue is still medieval or already modern, orthodox or heretic. Can we apply the term "Renaissance" to its *Gehalt* or can we not?

It is important to note that the immediate environment of Johann von Saaz, the chancelleries of Bohemia, stood under the influence of a remarkable prose-writer, translator of Latin books, and humanist, Johann von Neumarkt.

Whereas the political conceptions of Charles IV betray the French idea of the Renaissance as the rebirth of the state, his chancellery shows an unmistakable Italian influence. The Chancellor

Johann von Neumarkt, himself a pupil of the Sicilian school of scribes, was confronted with the difficult task of answering Petrarch's epistles to the emperor and conducting negotiations with Cola di Rienzo, Cola the Roman tribune and self-created knight who in 1350 came to this Bohemian court as a political refugee. Johann von Neumarkt realized very soon that the style of his chancellery needed a thorough revision in order to compete with the Italian writers.⁵ After having collected examples of Latin letters, genuine and fictitious, and all sorts of Latin formularies for the official business of the court, he turned his attention to the improvement of the German literary style. His translation of the so-called Augustinian soliloquies, entitled *Buch der Liebkosung*, is still the clumsy attempt of the beginner who slavishly imitates the Latin wording. But his *Life of St. Jerome*, compiled from letters attributed to Eusebius, Augustine, Cyrillus, a later translation, shows the pen of the master, a courageous attempt to grasp the sense of the original, a sovereign handling of word-order and stress, a rhythmic arrangement of rhetorical figures; even a poetic amplifying of metaphors and other stylistic expedients.

Assertions by Karl Müllenhoff and later by Konrad Burdach and Alois Bernt,⁶ that Modern High German was really a creation of this Bohemian Chancellery under Charles IV and not a product of the chancellery of the Elector of Saxony in the Fifteenth Century have not been accepted by our dialect-geographers: the gradual development of *Kursächsisch* as an organic product of colonial Germany east of the Saale can be traced back to its different constituents, the middle German dialects to the West, whereas the direct influence of the chancellery of Prague on the chancellery of Saxony was almost negligible.⁷

However, the use of a middle German dialect as the official language of the Imperial court in the Fourteenth Century opened a path for the Saxon chancellery in the Fifteenth Century. From another point of view, the rôle of Prague was even more significant: I am referring to Burdach's findings concerning the development of modern syntax. Many syntactical details of German grammar go back to the rules conceived in the Imperial chancellery under the influence of Latin sentence-structure: the initial position of the

⁵ Johann von Neumarkt, *Schriften*, ed. by Jos. Klapper (*Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation*, Vol. VI, Pts. 1-4), Berlin, 1930-1939; "Briefe Johanns von Neumarkt," ed. by Paul Piur (*Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation*, Vol. VIII), Berlin, 1937.

⁶ Alois Bernt, *Die Entstehung unserer Schriftsprache (Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation, XI)*, Berlin, 1934.

⁷ L. E. Schmidt, *Die deutsche Urkundensprache der Kanzlei Karls IV., Mitteldeutsche Studien*, Heft 11, *Zeitschrift für d. Mundartforschung*, Beiheft 15, Halle a. d. S., 1936; Th. Frings, *Die Grundlagen des Meißnischen Deutsch, ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der deutschen Hochsprache*, Halle a. d. S., 1936.

verb in independent statements was abandoned, dependent sentences were characterized by the final position of the verb, conjunctions were divided into coordinating and subordinating groups and the principle of logical expression was made to govern the arrangement of the various grammatical parts in the sentence and of several connected sentences in the period. In addition a new style was developed which on the one hand indulged in synonyms, epithets, paraphrases, and on the other aspired to the formulation of didactic sentences and polished antitheses.⁸

Consequently, the second main question, which an analysis of the Ackermann-Dialogue should answer, would be the philological question concerning the literary *Gestalt*: How did this author use his language when he created this work of art? Did he employ the modern conceptions of style? In other words: Was he a humanistic writer?

"Ackermann," "tiller of the field," "ploughman," seemed to some scholars to be the designation for the typical man who suffers the curse that was laid on Adam (Gen. III, 19): "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return!" It is possible, though not very probable, that the symbolical figure of William Langland's *Piers Plowman* moved the author to the use of this disguise (there were ties between the royal families of England and Bohemia,⁹ relations between Oxford and Prague, and last but not least connections between Wiclif's reform and Johan Hus). But more important seems to be the fact that the full text of the introduction reads: "Ich bins genant ein ackermann, von vogelwat ist mein pflug," i.e., I am called a ploughman, my plough is made from the garment of birds, i.e., feathers. By that he means to say: "I am a man of the pen." This roundabout expression, typical of the involved or florid style of the Bohemian chancellery, is nothing but a variant of a medieval German saying "the pen is my plough."

How, then, does the Ackermann present his case against Death? The most logical form, hallowed by precedents, was a dramatic disputation, witness the medieval dialogues between Master and Pupil, Father Confessor and Nun. Similar themes had been so treated previously: There were dialogues of Life and Death, Man and Death, and there was the dialogue between the widower and a rationalist, called *De remediis fortuitorum* and attributed to Seneca, and Petrarch's imitation of this entitled *De amissione uxoris* and included in his *De remediis utriusque fortunae*.

⁸ K. Burdach, *Sitzungsber. der Preuß. Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1933, XIV, pp. 610-618 ("Geblünte Rede").

⁹ Richard II married Anna, daughter of Charles IV. (Cf. Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*!).

Since the rights of Death were challenged before the throne of God, our disputation took the form of a legal suit against Death, comparable to the suits against Satan or Belial, well-known pieces of medieval literature.¹⁰ This has the added advantage that Death must answer the charges on an equal footing with the plaintiff, not as a superior being. Thirty-two chapters contain the alternating arguments of the accuser and the accused, so that each one has sixteen speeches for himself. Chapter 33 gives God's final judgment in the case and Chapter 34 is a concluding prayer of Johann for the soul of his wife.

In the beginning chapters 1, 3, and 5, the ploughman tells his grievance, ending in a touching lament for the dead. His outbursts of hate against the fiend continue through Chapter 19; after this his mood becomes more reasonable and conciliatory, and after God's judgment is rendered, he is placable and resigned.

Death, on the other hand, answers at first in measured tones. Gradually the replies become more biting, occasionally even abusive. His general line of defense, however, is a philosophical exposition of the worthlessness of life and the benefit of Death. From that it is clear that the inner structure of the dialogue, although a regular sequence of argument and counter-argument, is not confined to a monotonous elucidation of legal points. The topic is too human and too general, the plaintiff is too excited and too aggressive, the accused is too ironical and sarcastic, the procedure between the litigants much too personal to allow the author to stay within the limits of the language of the courts.

Besides, the introductory complaint, the *gerüfte* or *Zetterschrei*, the strongest form of accusation in German medieval law, does not lend itself to moderation: Only the widower's overmastering grief explains the unheard-of move to call Death to account for his deed, to argue with him about the very existence of Death in the world and to curse him as the lowest type of criminal even at the outset of the legal procedure. According to German law, the *gerüfte* was only in order when there was no doubt whatsoever concerning the guilt of the murderer and the findings of the court, the *gerüfte* itself meant outlawing the respondent by means of the severest form of impeachment.

Neither the mood of the plaintiff nor the occasion of his complaint call for mincing words. Never before had a German writer used such an array of fervid and ardent expressions. This litigant is not the brain-child of the gifted author of an interesting theological essay in dialogue-form, it is the widower himself, who pours

¹⁰ F. W. Strothmann, *Die Gerichtsverhandlung als literarisches Motiv in der deutschen Literatur des ausgehenden Mittelalters*, "Deutsche Arbeiten der Universität Köln," Jena, 1930.

out his grief, who cannot listen to the cold and heartless arguments of Death, who repeats over and over again—in new words and with new amplification—the same facts, the same demands, the same curses. And since he does not listen to the respondent, the dialogue seems to split into two soliloquies.

But how natural and true is this lack of coordination, how convincing and artistic! It is some time before the ploughman is able to talk rationally, to answer the counter-arguments of his enemy, to state his personal grievance, and finally to broaden his case into the larger case of mankind against Death. Death, on the other hand, who felt offended by the unheard-of challenge of his rights and powers, who cannot and will not take too seriously the outburst of this human rebel against God's order, naturally tries to minimize the whole affair, sneers and scoffs rather than argues and reasons. But when the ploughman calms down and uses more intellectual weapons against the fiend, Death is forced to use stronger defenses, better proofs, deeper ideas, so that after the preliminaries we get a real dialogue between fighters of equal stature.

There is no real action in this disputation. The dramatic interest must come from the suspense in the dialogue. We have already pointed out the difference in the temperaments: the plaintiff choleric and desperate, Death calm and sarcastic. Fortunately, there is another momentous distinction between the two which adds to the characterization as well as to the dramatic effect: Death represents the sceptic, ascetic, stoic attitude toward life, the Ackermann clings to the worldly pleasures of life, to beauty, nature, love. Death stands for reason and sober argumentation, the widower is all feeling and sentiment; perhaps it is the poet's own rational mind personified in the figure of Death which reasons with his heart.¹¹

Although very important religious subjects are touched, we do not find anywhere a trace of the religious unrest that accompanied the great schism or that we should perhaps expect from a tract written shortly after 1400 in the immediate neighborhood of embryonic Hussitism. Several attempts to connect our Johann of Saaz with these Czech, and at the same time anti-German, ideas have failed. Nevertheless, Konrad Burdach, to whom we owe so many studies devoted to the problems in the Ackermann-dialogue, tried to find other, more subtle indications of the rebellious spirit in religious matters, which he associates with the terms Renaissance and Humanism or at least dubs *freireligiös*.¹²

¹¹ An outline of the course of argumentation is given by A. Bernt, *ZfdPhil.* LV (1930), 170 ff.

¹² K. Burdach, *Platonische, freireligiöse und persönliche Züge im Ackermann aus Böhmen*, "Sitzungsber. der Preuß. Ak. d. Wiss.," Phil.-hist. Kl., 1933, XIV, 610-675.

These very slight indications of such an attitude are chiefly of a negative order: the ploughman predicts that he would not find rest in a monastery; mortification of the body is not mentioned; the body (more accurately: the head) is praised instead of condemned; and one finds no mention of original sin and its dire consequences, a thorough discussion of which one would most naturally expect in a dispute with Death. It may also be significant that Death describes his rule as a natural necessity (6), not as a punishment for human sins and weaknesses. On the contrary, Man's power of reason and his moral liberty are extolled which makes him superior to demons and even to angels (25). In short, the spirit of medieval asceticism and *Weltflucht* is, at least in the arguments of the plaintiff, entirely lacking. These statements, of course, do not imply any irregularity in the dogmatic standpoint of the author; but to Burdach they are significant as is also significant the existence of certain omissions in the final prayer. This prayer in the familiar form of the old litany for the dead, even though it provided ample opportunity for elaboration, is addressed only to God. In other words, the Virgin Mary, the martyrs, and the saints are not implored. Considering the quarrels between the contemporary theological factions, such a reticent, "protestant" attitude may have meant taking sides. However, that is true also of the *Buch der Liebkosung* which refers only to God and not to saints or martyrs. The omission of purgatory in the prayer for the dead is in accordance with St. Thomas' teaching that the blameless life of the deceased should eliminate this intermediate status of the soul.

A third point is an allusion to the pre-existence of the soul: "Let her, o Lord, live together with the eternal blessed spirits in the realm where she came from." Although the official doctrine of the Church, as established by Thomas Aquinas, teaches the individual creation of the human soul after conception, the pre-existence of the soul in heaven was a belief held by St. Augustine which was never condemned by the Church.

We also believe that Burdach's endeavors to connect the *Ackermann* quite closely with William Langland's *Piers Plowman*—apart from the similarity of the names—by means of a hidden *Adamsmystik* in the *Ackermann* and a few other traits is a step in the wrong direction which is unintelligible to unprejudiced readers of both pieces.

The spirit of *Piers Plowman* is that of a profoundly religious mind bent on Christian reforms in society, church, and state. The purpose of the visions is to depict a better world where the teachings of the Gospel are put into practice. Nothing of such reforming zeal is found in the *Ackermann*, and, even if it were there, we would be forced to call it a medieval element. Burdach, on the other hand, objects to the conception of a pagan Renaissance, a

pagan Humanism and insists on the very religious character of the new age. In defining the term "Renaissance" as the longing for spiritual and religious rebirth, he, strangely enough, finds the spirit of the Renaissance already in St. Francis and in Dante's *Vita Nuova*, and, later, most obviously in the humanism of Prague and its finest product, the Ackermann-Dialogue!¹³

If, for this reason, Burdach's polemics are directed against a definition of Humanism as a mere revival of classical antiquity, that does not mean that he is blind to this aspect of the new age of rebirth. In fact he collects every reference and every allusion to the Greeks and the Romans in order to prove the thoroughly humanistic spirit of the dialogue whereas the obvious medieval elements are regarded as background and foil. This procedure has its dangers, because not every Greek or Roman allusion in this period is due to Renaissance influences.

In fact, Paris and Helena, Pyramus and Thisbe (30, line 17), Alexander (18, line 13; 30, line 18), Julius Caesar (18, line 20), Nero (18, line 18), are names found in every chronicle of the world and their mention does not indicate any familiarity with the sources.

More imposing is the array of philosophers: Pitagoras (16, line 28), Plato (31, line 24), Hermes (20, line 29), Aristoteles (22, line 14; 30, line 23), Seneca (20, line 6), Boecius (29, line 8), Avicenna (30, line 24). They are cited in support of statements made by the author, a familiar medieval practice. In the cases of Pitagoras and Hermes, his knowledge is clearly fictitious. The same is obviously true when he quotes Aristotle as a stoic philosopher. Worse perhaps is the reference to the Academy of Athens as the name of a city (18, line 15: "do du zu Achademia vnd zu Athenis . . . disputierest")!¹⁴ Aristotle, Seneca, Boethius were regarded as authorities in the Middle Ages and mentioning them would not prove the theory of a new approach. Aristotle is mentioned as the philosopher whose death is to be mourned most (30) and not Plato, the favorite philosopher of the Humanists. The doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul can just as easily be Augustinian, as Platonic, and even the idea of death as an incident in the eternal change of things (31) is no indication of humanistic studies.

The Ackermann does not scorn medieval philosophy and theology, unlike Petrarch, who stigmatised the scholastics as liars. A minute analysis of Johann's theological ideas and conceptions, made by Ella Schafferus,¹⁵ showed convincingly that with the exception

¹³ K. Burdach, "Über den Ursprung des Humanismus," *Deutsche Rundschau*, Bd. 158, 191-213; 369-385; Bd. 159, 66-83 (1914); K. Burdach, *Reformation, Renaissance, Humanismus*, 2. Aufl., Berlin, 1926; K. Burdach, *Vorspiel*, Vol. I, Pt. 2: *Reformation und Renaissance*, Halle, 1925.

¹⁴ Based on Boethius and Thomas Walleis, cf. Burdach, *Platon. etc. Züge im Ackermann aus Böhmen*, loc. cit., p. 670.

¹⁵ Ella Schafferus, "Der Ackermann aus Böhmen und die Weltanschauung des Mittelalters," *ZfdA*, LXXII (1935), 209-239.

of the pre-existence of the soul everything else is in harmony with the official teachings of St. Thomas, especially with regard to the definitions of God, his attributes, and his relation to the world.

That the author had a feeling for subtle differences is proved by his selections from Johann von Neumarkt's *Buch der Liebkosung*. Although he takes over from that source quite a few attributes for his hymn to God, he omits every reference to the arbitrary, unintelligible rule of the "deus absconditus," as preached by Occam and as known by Johann von Neumarkt (p. 142, 7 ff.: "Du bist herr, allein bist du worhaftiger got, almehtig, ewiger, vnbegreiflicher vnd grohser").

His approach is the intellectual approach of the Thomists, and not that of Nominalism or Mysticism which did not dare to define God. And the final "solution," God's judgment, is accepted in this same intellectual spirit as the wisest and best, not as something beyond human understanding.

Equally medieval is the description of man as "gotes allerhubschestes geschopfe" (25, line 18) and "der lieblich clohs" (25, line 41); it is by no means an indication of the classic or humanistic feeling for the body, when the author uses these words of praise, but admiration for the head as God's supreme masterpiece.

That man is put above the angels since he is endowed with freedom of will is also orthodox Thomism, but this conception of "man" does not show any individual traits which would allow us to call him the free personality of the Renaissance (25).

The central problem, the problem of Death, and its treatment, also has its medieval predecessors. Seneca's *De remediis fortuitorum*, or at least an extract from that work, was well known during the Middle Ages. As was mentioned before, it was in the form of a dialogue between a widower and his friend, a rationalist, and it dealt with the same situation: "Uxorem bonam amisi." A whole passage from Seneca's *De remediis fortuitorum* is quoted in 12, lines 9-15, without acknowledgment. In addition we also have dialogues between Life and Death and between Man and Death. The ever-recurring themes of such dialogues are repeated: Where are the great men of the past and their deeds? (17); Human beauty and splendor is condemned to decomposition (20; 24); Death does not respect rank and honors—the motif of the various Dances of Death (20, line 17; 30, lines 17 ff.)—and all this is treated in good medieval fashion. The fact that Death describes himself as a natural necessity (6, line 10) does not imply a rejection of the biblical doctrine that death is the wages of sin (Romans VI, 23), for Death calls himself God's hand (16, line 4) and he obeys God's will.

The next question we have to answer would be: Are there any Renaissance influences at all in the Ackermann-Dialogue? Or should

we better put the whole thing back into the files of medieval literature and let it be labelled "Herbst des Mittelalters"? The arguments for a direct influx of Italian humanism center, of course, on the literary connections of Prague with Petrarch and Cola di Rienzo. A sober evaluation of Rienzo's importance in the Italian Renaissance must note that his ideas of social reform are more medieval than modern and that the development of the Italian Renaissance is marked by the elimination of these ideas. Charles IV was more than reserved toward them, and, anyway, nothing of them is found in Johann von Saaz.

Not even the influence of Rienzo as a stylist on Johann von Neumarkt goes unchallenged. Paul Joachimsen¹⁶ maintained that Rienzo imitated the Sicilian style of the chancellor to a greater extent than Johann von Neumarkt imitated Rienzo.

The relations of Johann von Neumarkt and Petrarch were somewhat closer, but here also we observe that Johann abides by his Sicilian manner, and this is true also with regard to Johann's own literary production. There was no Petrarchism worthy of notice in Bohemia, and consequently any dependence of Johann von Saaz upon Petrarch is more than doubtful.

Three works by Petrarch were considered by Burdach as possible sources for the Ackermann-Dialogue: (1) *Trionfo della morte*, (2) *De amissione uxoris* (in: *De remediis utriusque fortunae*) and (3) *De contemptu mundi*. *Trionfo della morte* is a poetical lament over Laura's death, entirely without a debatable resemblance. *De amissione uxoris* is based on Seneca's *De remediis fortuitorum*. If Johann von Saaz had been familiar with Petrarch, a reference to this dialogue would be the most natural thing. But he quotes only Seneca, and not Petrarch. In *De remediis utriusque fortunae* we find Pleasure and Hope defending human happiness, Pain and Fear lamenting human misfortune, and Reason correcting both sides by expounding a morose and cold *Weltanschauung*. In the treatise on the contempt of the world the optimistic poet debates with the ascetic Christian Augustinus. In the German *Ackermann* there are no direct quotations, no indisputable borrowings from Petrarch; the basic moods in Petrarch's dialogues, compared with the *Ackermann*, are radically different, and all critics agree that the *Ackermann* stands on a higher philosophical level whether he knew Petrarch or not. In spite of a splendid Latin style and many a wise perception, Petrarch's dialogues leave us cold and uninterested. The reason is that he does not present us with real human beings, but dead allegories. In Petrarch we have an old man returning to the ascetic ideas of medieval Christianity, while in the case of the

¹⁶ *Hist. Vierteljahrsschrift*, XX (1920/21), 426 ff., esp. 457.

Ackermann-Dialogue we have a living suffering husband, overwhelmed by the emotions of his own personal loss who nevertheless broadens his complaint into a general indictment of Death.

In spite of all the negative statements we have had to make concerning the influences of the ancients and of contemporary Italian writers on the *Gehalt* of *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen*, I think nevertheless that we are justified in classifying our dialogue as Renaissance Literature, and the reason for this is simply the *Lebensgefühl*, the conception of life that is expressed by the author.

This different, non-medieval attitude, can be easily illustrated by glancing at its medieval precursors, e.g., the famous rhymed *Dialogus Mortis cum Homine*, attributed to Bernhard of Clairvaux. In this poem death is taken for granted, and the question is raised rather shyly whether Death is always just. The answer of Death is a rude NO, and man timidly asks for delay.

The main difference, however, lies in the gruesome details of decomposition of the body ("circumdatus es vermibus, intus atque foris!") in which the medieval poet indulges, whereas these unsavory details are only slightly touched upon in the *Ackermann*, and that may be one indication of Humanism.

Another treatment of a similar theme is the so-called *Legend of the Magister Polycarpus: De mortis loquenti cuidam magistro* (beginning of the 14th century?). Two manuscripts are in the Prague University Library, and there is a possibility that Johann von Saaz knew the story. The legend has it that a magister Polycarpus of Hibernia had often implored God for a chance to talk with Death and that his prayers were finally granted. Death (in a most horrible shape) appears and explains his mission to the magister, who listens but nowhere tries any sort of rebellion. In the end Death takes on a still more horrible form, so that poor Polycarpus, speechless for two days decides to enter a monastery. Features common to both dialogues are: (1) The idea of Death's rule over this world; (2) The old question: "Ubi sunt qui ante nos in mundo fuere?" with the appropriate catalogue of names.

Unlike his predecessor, the *Ackermann* has no revelations with regard to Judgment Day and the appearance of Antichrist, very attractive topics for any medieval writer—nor does Johann von Saaz relish the idea of renouncing the secular life and joining an order. In fact, he refuses so much to consider this point, that even Death, the representative of the stoic philosophy, cannot see any solution in such a step: "Darumb lass dein clagen sein! Trit in welchen orden du wilt, du findest gebrechen vnd eitelkeit darinnen" (32). P. Joachimsen has on this ground ventured the hypothesis that this refutation was written with the end of the legend in mind.

With this refutation the author abandons the ascetic philosophy of the Middle Ages (he even outdoes Petrarch who went into seclusion in order to find himself) nor does he make use of the new refuge, classical antiquity, to find comfort and reassurance. His solution is naive, but we may call it humanistic. It is not Humanism in the sense Petrarch would define it as antagonism against scholasticism, but Humanism in the sense of the new individualism of the Renaissance that rejects the ascetic solution of traditional Christianity.

In this connection we may concede that the last answer of the plaintiff and evidently his strongest one places significant emphasis on Plato's doctrine of eternal change and everlasting metamorphosis: Death, the end of life, would end his existence with the end of all life. If that should happen, Death would have to go to Hell, and mankind would be avenged. But the plaintiff cannot believe in such a useless outcome of God's creation and of God's love for man and things. Plato and other philosophers gave a much better interpretation: In the destruction of every single thing is implied the birth of something else. All things are designed for rebirth, and every event in Heaven and on earth is nothing but a link in the chain of eternal changes ("das in allen sachen eines zerruttunge des andern geberunge sei vnd wie alle sache auf vrkunfte [*Burd.*] sint gebawet vnd wie des himels lauf vnd der erden alle von einem in das ander verwandelt wirkunge ewig sei") (31, line 24). This is the last word of the plaintiff against Death, Plato is his star-witness against the effectiveness of Death, the pagan philosopher's words express the spirit of the Renaissance.

If, with many precautions and reservations, we concur with more enthusiastic scholars in finding that after all the Ackermann-Dialogue belongs to the category of German Pre-Renaissance literature, we can not avoid the further question concerning the style of our author, for we must remember that Humanism as such will always affect the literary style, indeed, it is sometimes traceable only in the style, since the new form, according to Huizinga,¹⁷ often preceded the spirit, e.g., in Johann von Neumarkt.

Investigating the *Gestalt*, the form and the formative elements, we should avoid an error that was committed by those scholars who were looking for Humanism and overlooked the striking features of the German literary tradition. Necessarily I must be brief in my description of this tradition.

One source of words and phrases which give color especially to the beginning of the dialogue was already touched in passing, the

¹⁷ J. Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters*, München, 1924, p. 438.

field of the judicial and legal terminology. It was possible to collect from almost every part of the dialogue certain idioms belonging to this sphere.¹⁸ The vocabulary in question is, of course, the vocabulary of German medieval law, untouched by Roman law.

More important is the range of religious terms originating in ecclesiastical poetry and mysticism. Such terms occur in a cluster in the concluding prayer, when the widower praises God as the guardian of the world, God of all Gods, most powerful of all spirits, prince of princes, source of all goodness, and so forth.

We have just stressed the fact that the Virgin Mary is not mentioned in the litany. But words and phrases from hymns and poems in praise of the Holy Virgin are evident in the fifth chapter where the widower celebrates his wife as "frideschilt vur vngemach," "mein lihter sterne an dem himel," "meines heiles sunne," "mein flutender morgensterne," "mein rechte furender leitestab," "meines heiles vernewender jungbrunnen," and so forth.¹⁹

Mariolatry, of course, grew out of the Minnesang proper and from this source also we find striking borrowings. The 29th chapter is the chapter of chivalry which contains the significant passage: "wer in frawen dienste ist, der muss sich aller missetat anen," recalling Walther von der Vogelweide's "swer guotes wibes minne hat, der schamt sich aller missetât." Another passage proclaims the same idea: "kleines mannes zucht kan wesen, sie sei dann gemeistert mit frawen zuchte." He sees his wife as the knight used to see his lady "wann sie so zuchtiges ganges pflag" (9, line 9). But it is by no means necessary to assume that Johann von Saaz knew the poems of the Minnesingers from primary sources, because the *Meistergesang* was the connecting link.

The *Meistergesang* forms the background of contemporary German literature, and allusions, reminiscences, and borrowings in the dialogue together with similar passages from the *Meistersingers* would fill a book.²⁰ The influence of that source is also felt in the opposite direction: the bourgeois art of *Meistergesang* and *Fastnachtsspiel* provided Death with the storehouse of invectives against women from which he draws in Chapter 28.

We owe it to Arthur Hübner and his seminary²¹ that the author's indebtedness to the *Volkslied* of his century was pointed out. Such a phrase as "vnwiderbringlichen mein hochsten hort han ich verloren" (9, line 1) might be derived from an initial verse "mein hochsten hort han ich verloren." There is a line in a contemporary song: "ir lob kan ich volsagen nicht, wann sy ist aller tugent vol"

¹⁸ A. Bernt, *ZfdPhil.*, LV, 177 f.

¹⁹ Cf. A. Hübner, *Das Deutsche im Ackermann aus Böhmen*, *Sitzungsber. der Preuß. Akad. der Wiss.*, phil-hist. Kl., 1935, 342 ff.

²⁰ Cf. Hübner's Collection.

²¹ A. Hübner, *op. cit.*

(Hätzl. 68, 19), which appears in the dialogue as: "ich sweige, als mer ich bin zu swach alle ir ere vnd tugent, die got selber ir hat mit geteilt, zu volsagen" (7, lines 10 ff.). Similar instances are abundant: verbal quotations, popular phrases, and certain syntactical figures. All these prove the author's familiarity with the contemporary *Volkslied* and *Gesellschaftslied*. Among the best examples is the passage in Chapter 3, where he complains that Death has taken away his turtle-dove from him and now he is sitting and mourning on a dry branch. In Sterz. Hs., p. 305, we read: "ein turtelwblein trawret fast, so es verleurt sein liebstes ein, vnd sitzet auf ein durren ast, wann aller freude hat es kein."

Other phrases are clearly derived from popular sentences and sayings.²²

In the light of all this indebtedness to German literary tradition the wording of a recently discovered Latin dedication deserves our special attention, since in it the author states in significant terms his literary intentions.²³ He calls his gift "hoc incomptum et agreste ex tetunico li(n)gwagio consertum agregamen," or freely translated: "this artless and rustic texture woven from German material." In other words, the author acknowledges his obligation duly and sincerely, an obligation which a generation of German Renaissance-scholars completely overlooked.

This dedication is revealing also on another point: Johann von Saaz describes the gift as coming "ex agro rhetoricalis iocunditatis," i.e., he describes it as a show-piece of rhetorical art. And he promises besides to display all the rhetorical tricks which can be used in his vernacular, an "ydioma indeclinabile." This passage means, of course, that the author is not only forced by his personal grief to air the problem of death—a circumstance that furnishes the everlasting interest in his work—but that he is also prompted by a literary ambition which we may define as a humanistic urge. Since his identification with Johann von Tepla who calls himself and is called by others Johann of Schüttwa, we are in the happy position to assign quite a few Latin documents and some books of formulae to Johann von Saaz.

The documents are written in a magnificent Latin and make the utmost use of the florid style which Johann of Neumarkt sponsored in his chancellery. It is obvious that a man who cared so much for his Latin style would not be easily satisfied with less ambitious experiments in German.

²² A. Bernt, *ZfdPhil.*, LV, 181.

²³ Konrad Joseph Heilig, "Die lateinische Widmung des Ackermann aus Böhmen, *Mitteilungen des österr. Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, XLVII (1933), 414-426. *Cod. Frib.* 163, now in Freiburg i. B., contains a collection of Latin formulae composed by Johannes de Tepla. Hidden among them this letter to Peter Rothirsch of Prague was discovered by Heilig on f. 96 b. The date 1428 must be due to a whim of the copyist.

One feature of the Latin is the so-called *cursus*, the rhythmical conclusion of a sentence. In the chancellery of Prague the *cursus velox* X'XXX'XX'X : notário existente | diligência reservândus, etc.) was more frequently used than the *cursus planus* (X'XXX'X : nón provenérunt). In the most prosaic documents this ornate expedient is in evidence, and editors of the Ackermann-Dialogue may very well consider the *cursus* as a possible help in the correct rendering of certain corrupt passages.

But much more important for the style of the dialogue were the so-called *colores*, i.e., paraphrases, illustrations, amplifications of the original word or metaphor, so that a splendid array of verbal and rhythmical magnificence dazzles the reader or hearer—even in a document dealing with the construction of a water-conduit.

Johann of Saaz promises in his dedication of the dialogue "verbales et sentencionales colores cum figuris"²⁴ From the florid passages of the dialogue it is quite evident what the author meant when he referred to his *colores*. Even if his synonyms are not always his own inventions, even if he got his supply of words from contemporary literature or older tradition, the handling and arranging of this material is so skilful and powerful that we are willing to call the writer a poet without further reservations. Clusters of synonyms of two and three or more units, synonymous sentences, two, three, or more, stream majestically in the arguments and counter-arguments of plaintiff and Death, enhancing the impressiveness of the rhetorical figures and filling our senses with verbose beauty and musical rhythms. This technique is still new in the German language and does not yet show the dangers of the florid diction which were developed in the Baroque bombast of later times: the willful darkness and the redundant loquacity, which sometimes are nothing more than masquerades of emptiness.

The rhetorical variations in Johann von Saaz have the poetic beauty of the biblical *parallelismus membrorum* and the magnificent flourish of Humanistic Latin and Italian. In addition we find intellectual strength in a sharp antithesis such as: "das leben ist durch sterbens willen geschaffen" (22, line 7).

If the *Lebensgefühl* of the author decided the question of the Renaissance-spirit with regard to the contents of the Ackermann-Dialogue, the florid style, the *colores* ought to convince us of his humanistic ambitions and achievements in art and the "humanism" claimed for his work.

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²⁴ Hübner, *op. cit.*, 350.

THE STATUS OF THE BURKHARD WALDIS STUDIES

By JOHN LANCASTER RIORDAN

The Hessian Burkhard Waldis¹ is of great importance to the literary and social history of the Reformation Period. He seems to have been born about the year 1495 in the little town of Allendorf on the Werra. Unfortunately, the records of his birth as well as many other of the documents concerning this interesting personality have been lost. His activities can be traced in fair detail from the year 1522, at which time he appeared as a Franciscan monk in Riga. During the inception of the Reformation in the North and East of Germany, the citizens of Riga destroyed pictures in the churches and caused great damage to church property. Archbishop Jasper van Linden sought aid from the Emperor and the Pope. For this important mission the three Franciscan monks, Antonius Bomhover, Augustin Ulfelt, and Burkhard Waldis were chosen. Upon his return from the long pilgrimage Burkhard was clapped in prison by the Protestants. Shortly thereafter he underwent a revulsion of feeling, renounced Catholicism, and became a staunch Protestant. Within a short time after his release he became a successful pewterer² in Riga. Since he was able to enter a guild almost immediately, it is probable that he had already established secular connections while he was still a Franciscan. In Riga he composed his first and most important literary work, *De parabell vam vorlorn Szohn*,³ a shrovetide play setting forth the Lutheran principle that the individual can be saved through faith alone, not through works. He was probably active in the composition of the first ritual for the Protestant churches of Riga⁴ which was printed in the year 1530; he made a

¹ Various spelled: Burchard, Burkard, Burcard, Burckard, Burkart, Borchard, Borchardt. The generally accepted form is Burkhard.

² J. Gahlenbäck, "Eine Zinnkanne des Burchard Waldis," *Mitteilungen aus der livländischen Geschichte*, XXIII (1924/1926), 578 ff. In the preface to his *De parabell vam vorlorn Szohn* the author designates himself as "Borchardt waldis kangeter tho Ryga ynn Lyfflandt." L. Mackensen, "Gedanken über die Rigaer Zeit des B. Waldis und die deutsche Literatur Alt-Livlands im 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, N.F. VIII (1938), 91-100, suggests that certain powerful persons were probably instrumental in establishing Waldis as a pewterer and that this occupation served merely as a shield for his political activities. Hence he regards Waldis primarily as a political helper and go-between rather than as a travelling pewterer and poet.

³ This work was printed only once; the place and date of printing are missing. It was played in Riga, February 17, 1527. The one extant copy is in the library at Wolfenbüttel.

⁴ Reprint of both editions by Geffcken, Hanover, 1862.

tangible contribution to the second edition of 1537, namely, *Ein gebedt zu Godt*. It is written in High German and closes with a locution similar to those used by Hans Sachs:

. . . vnd vns geben
Durchs selbig wort das ewig leben
Welchs du vorheissen hast gewis
Wunscht allen Burckart waldis.

He made various business trips throughout Germany and to neighboring countries. In the year 1536 he became involved—not entirely innocently—in a conspiracy against the Livonian government. At Christmastide of this year he was suddenly arrested by officials of the Teutonic Order, repeatedly tortured, and imprisoned for nearly four years. During this long period of tribulation he found his only consolation in recasting the psalms into songs.⁵ His release from confinement was finally effected by his four faithful brothers, who had obtained in his behalf the intercession of Landgrave Philipp of Hesse and the city council of Riga. After studying in Wittenberg under Luther he returned to his native Hesse to await a parsonage. In the meantime he wrote political pamphlets against Duke Heinrich of Wolfenbüttel,⁶ as well as religious polemics.⁷ To a series of woodcuts, Burkhard composed the explanatory rimes, the whole appearing in 1543 under the title: *VRsprung vnd Herkumen der zwölff ersten alten König und Fürsten Deutscher Nation, wie und zuo welchen zeytten jr yeder Regiert hat*. Appended to this is his *Lobspruch der*

⁵ *Der Psalter, in Neue Gesangs Weise, und künstliche Reimen gebracht, durch Burcardum Waldis* (Frankfurt a. M.: Egenolff, 1553). In the foreword the author states that he wrote the songs in prison "um die langweilige und beschwerliche gedanken, und Teuffliche anfechtung damit zuuertreiben, odder je zum theyl zu vermindern."

⁶ *Warhafft Beschreibung der Belegerung und Schantzens vor dem Haus Wolfenbüttel* (1542); *Der Wilde Man von Wolfenbüttel* (1542); *Herzog Heinrichs von Braunschweig Klage Lied*, n.d.; *Wie der Lycaon von Wolfenbüttel, jcz newlich in einen Münch vorwandelt ist* (1542). The foregoing polemics are printed under the title: Fr. Koldewey, ed., *B. Waldis' Streitgedichte gegen Herzog Heinrich den jüngern von Braunschweig*, "Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke," No. 49 (Halle, 1883). See review by R. Sprenger, *Akademische Blätter*, VIII-IX (1884), 556 f. Reprint of this in *American Journal of Philology*, V, 258. For a discussion see Fr. Koldewey, "Heinz von Wolfenbüttel," *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, No. 2 (1883); A. E. Berger, ed., "Lied- Spruch- und Fabeldichtung im Dienste der Reformation," *Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen. Reihe Reformation* (Leipzig, 1938), Ser. IX, IV, 74, 94, 228 ff., 299 f.; Goedeke cites: F. Mittler, ed., *Herzog Heinrichs von Braunschweig Klagelied*. (Vermehrter Abdruck aus dem Hessischen Jahrbuche für 1855).

⁷ *Ein wahrhaftige Historien von Zweyen Mewsen. So die paffen im Hüttenberge bey Watzfalar haben verbrennen lassen. Darumb das sie ein Monstrantzcn Sacrament gefressen hatten. Item. Drey schonen newer Fabeln* (1543). Goedeke cites *Autographa Lutheri aliorumque* (Brunsvig, 1690-93), I, 422; Fabricius, *Historie der Gelehrsamkeit*, II, 1063.

alten Deutschen,⁸ in which Waldis expresses his love for the Fatherland, and his Protestant sympathies. Waldis received in 1544 a post as pastor at Abterode, where he worked zealously for the cause of the Reformation. His most popular work, *Esopus*,⁹ was published in 1548. During the same year in which his *Psalter* appeared (1553), Burkhard Waldis published a revision of Emperor Maximilian's *Teuerdanck*.¹⁰ In the following year Landgrave Philipp commissioned him to translate Thomas Naogeorg's satire, *Regnum papisticum*.¹¹ Waldis is believed to have died in 1556.

The biography indicates how rich and varied was the life of this gifted son of the Reformation. Indeed, he was far more talented and of far greater importance during his lifetime than many another writer of the period who has been more kindly received by posterity. Poetically, his works surpass most of the literary products of the time. No German poet of the sixteenth century has created so many strophic forms, or recast to such an extent those already in existence, as Burkhard Waldis. The one hundred and fifty-five songs of his *Psalter* exhibit no less than eighty-six different strophic forms. This work is the first German collection of psalm-songs in which all of the songs were composed by one author. With respect to both form and content, it is regarded as the foremost collection of the time. When one considers that perhaps the most effective tool of the Reformation was the hymn, or *Kirchenlied*, the importance of Waldis at once assumes greater proportions. Furthermore, his *De parabell vum vorlorn Szohn* is one of the outstanding German dramas of the sixteenth century. As a fable writer—together with Erasmus Alberus—Burkhard Waldis towered head and shoulders above such successors as Nathan Chytraeus, Daniel Holtzmann, Hartmann Schopper, Georg Rollenhagen, Wolfhart Spangenberg, Adolf Rose von Creutzheim, and Huldreich Wohlgenut. Even Hans Sachs and Johann Mathesius failed to measure up to his ability in this capacity.

Burkhard Waldis and Paul Rebhun were the leading representatives in the sixteenth century—at least practically—of the prin-

⁸ Nürnberg: Guldenmundt d. A. Cf. *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, XI, 171. The *Ursprung*, etc. was subsequently used in the German revision of the Chronicle of Aventinus and by Matthias Holtzwardt in his *Eikones* (1573). It was also appended to the *Emblematum tyrocinia* with a foreword and epilogue by Fischart, as well as in Matthias Quad's *Memorabilia mundi* (1601).

⁹ *Esopus, Gantz New gemacht, vnd in Reimen gefasst mit sampt hundert Newer Fabeln*, etc. (1548). The various editions and reprints will be referred to later.

¹⁰ *Die ehr vnd mannliche Thaten, Geschichten vnnnd Gefehrlichkeiten des Streitbaren Ritters, vnnnd Edlen Helden Tewaterdanck*, etc. (Abterode, 1553).

¹¹ *Das Päpstisch Reych*, etc. (1555).

ciples of prosody which were to be theoretically set up and formulated by Martin Opitz at the outset of the seventeenth century. Both stood for a union of word and verse accent, sought to reject such un-German verse forms as the dactyl and anapest, and endeavored to enliven their poetry by using diverse forms. The very qualities in Waldis' poetry which we now regard as criteria of skill may have prevented his works from receiving contemporary recognition, for his contemporaries and immediate successors were not yet receptive to metrical novelties and refinements.¹² Hence his versatility went unappreciated, while the more uninspired and monotonous works of others attained comparatively greater popularity. Gottsched was one of the few scholars who subsequently recognized the true merits of our poet:

Etwas besser beobachtete um eben dieser Zeit Burcard Waldis, ein Geistlicher im Hessischen, den Wohlklang, der aus der Abwechslung langer und kurzer Syllben entsteht. In seinen verdeutschen äsopischen Fabeln, die 1548 herauskam, sieht man, dass dieser feine Mann ein besseres Gehör, als andre seines gleichen gehabt . . . Auch der Teuerdank, den eben der Burcard Waldis, ganz verändert und verbessert herausgab, gewann in Ansehung des Wohlklanges und Syllbenmasses viel. . . .¹³

Regarded in the light of his own century, therefore, the importance of Burkhard Waldis for German literature can hardly be overestimated. Memory of him rapidly diminished after his death, for his task had already been accomplished, and his works, with the exception of *Esopus*, contained little that was of interest to succeeding generations.

* * *

The history and present status of the investigation of Waldis show how grievously neglected this character has been, and suggest in addition several unsolved problems. Our author was almost entirely forgotten until towards the middle of the eighteenth century,¹⁴

¹² H. Lerche, *Studien zu den deutsch-evangelischen Psalmendichtungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Breslau diss., 1936), p. 45.

¹³ Gottsched, *Die deutsche Sprachkunst*, IV. Teil: Die Tonmessung. 1. Hauptstück, 16.

¹⁴ J. Tittmann (*Deutsche Dichter des 16. Jahrhunderts*, XVI: *Esopus von B. Waldis*, 1882, p. v.) attributes this to the fact that at that time German linguistic and literary sciences did not exist, and states that Morhof laid the foundations for both. Daniel George Morhof in his *Unterricht von der deutschen Sprache und Poesie, deren Ursprung, Fortgang und Lehrsätzen* (1682) has nothing to say for Waldis except a few words of disparagement, describing him as "einen, der den Teuerdank hat nachdrucken lassen, gar viel Verse darin geändert und etzliche paar tausend dazugesetzt, der aber diese Arbeit wohl hätte bleiben lassen."

when Friedrich Hagedorn¹⁶ was stimulated through the originality and freshness of Waldis' fables to treat this material himself. Gellert,¹⁶ using Hagedorn as a basis, likewise sought to imitate these fables. He criticized Waldis, however, for his "weitläufige und oft müssige Art zu erzählen."¹⁷ Several years later, Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariä published anonymously a book of fables "in the manner of Burkhard Waldis."¹⁸ His motive in preparing this collection is most interesting:

Es ist so übel nicht, wenn wir manchmal unsere alten Schätze wieder hervorholen, besonders da seit einiger Zeit eine ziemliche Unfruchtbarkeit in dem Reiche unserer schönen Literatur sich zu äussern anfängt.¹⁹

Gassner²⁰ concludes that Zachariä derived much of his material from the fables and often followed Waldis verbatim or in content, yet there is little in Zachariä's fables of what he terms "Burkhard Waldis Manier." The reason for this is patent: He was attempting to present the contents of Waldis' fables in a form that would be compatible to the tastes of the eighteenth century.

After the death of Zachariä, J. J. Eschenburg prepared a second edition of this work and added thirty-five of the original fables, five of which correspond to those of Zachariä.²¹ He was assisted in this to some extent by Gotthold Ephriam Lessing,²² who was at the time librarian at Wolfenbüttel. Eschenburg published, in addition to the above work, a short article on Waldis in the Hamburg *Unterhaltungen*,²³ wherein he announced a forthcoming discussion of Waldis' fables by "Hofrath Lessing." Unfortunately, this announcement remained unfulfilled.

¹⁶ *Fabeln und Erzählungen* (1738-1750).

¹⁶ *Fabeln und Erzählungen* (1746 ff.).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Introduction: "Nachricht und Exempel von alten deutschen Fabeln"; J. Gassner, *Ueber Zachariä's "Fabeln und Erzählungen in B. Waldis Manier"* (Progr., Klagenfurt, 1906), pp. 6 f., compares briefly the styles of Gellert and Waldis thus: "Immer aber fliesst diese weitläufige und oft müssige Art zu erzählen aus seinem naiven Gemüte and berührt daher den modernen Leser bei weitem nicht so unangenehm wie die oft wässrige Geschwätzigkeit Gellerts oder Zachariä's."

¹⁸ *Fabeln und Erzählungen in B. Waldis Manier* (Braunschweig, 1771).
¹⁹ 1770!

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

²¹ *Fabeln und Erzählungen in B. Waldis Manier. Von Herrn Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariä. Neue Ausgabe. Mit einem Anhang, etc. von Johann Joachim Eschenburg* (Braunschweig, 1777).

²² Lachmann-Muncker, eds., *G. E. Lessing, Sämtliche Schriften* (Berlin, 1886-1924), XVIII, 234: "Werde ich noch heute Abend mit dem Abschreiben meiner Collectaneen von Waldis fertig, so bringe ich sie mit; wenigstens rede ich mit Ihnen ab, was Sie wohl am besten desfalls thun können." (Letter to Eschenburg, April 2, 1777).

²³ Hamburg: Bock, IV (1776), 933 ff.

A few years previously Baron von Gemmingen²⁴ had sought to defend Waldis by calling attention to his agreement with the French fabulist La Fontaine. Indeed, he even asserted that the latter had used Burkhard Waldis as a source for such fables as "Le Cas de conscience" and "Le Cocu battu et content." He attempted to prove his statement by submitting several complete tales by Waldis and some extracts of others. Baron von Gemmingen's promise to prepare a collection of Waldis' works was never realized. None of the foregoing authors made any serious attempt to characterize Waldis or his writings.

The first attempt at an evaluation of Burkhard Waldis and his works was made by Karl Jördens²⁵ shortly after the beginning of the nineteenth century. In addition to the fables, Jördens listed his *Psalter*, *Teuerdanck*, the translation of Naogeorgus, and a few hymns. His important drama dealing with the theme of the prodigal son received no mention. Today we are acquainted with fifteen different works of Burkhard Waldis.

Probably the best characterization of Waldis' personality and philosophy is still that of Gervinus,²⁶ although the biographical sketches of K. Goedeke,²⁷ G. Milchsack,²⁸ W. Kawerau,²⁹ and A.

²⁴ *Briefe nebst anderen poetischen und prosaischen Stücken* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1753), "Schreiben über B. Waldis." Reprint of this in J. J. Eschenburg, ed., *Poetische und prosaische Stücke von dem Freiherrn von G**** (Braunschweig, 1769), p. 82 ff.

²⁵ *Lexikon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten* (Leipzig, 1806 ff.), V, 186 ff.

²⁶ *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (5th ed., ed. K. Bartsch, Leipzig, 1872), pp. 60-66.

²⁷ *B. Waldis* (Hannover, 1852), and *GGR*, II, 447 ff.

²⁸ *B. Waldis* (Halle, 1881). Appended to this is Waldis' *Lobspruch der alten Deutschen* (Ergänzungsheft zu Neudrucke, etc., XXX). Milchsack's biography is based upon documentary discoveries made by Schirren. See "Livländische Charaktere: 2. B. Waldis," *Baltische Monatsschrift*, III (1861), 503-524.

²⁹ W. Kawerau, "B. Waldis," *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, hereafter referred to as *ADB* (Leipzig, 1875-1912), XL, 702 ff. Following are the biographical contributions concerning Burkhard Waldis not included in Goedeke's *Grundriß* (hereafter referred to as *GGR*), 2nd ed., II, 450 ff.; H. Kurz, "B. Waldis," *Deutsche Dichter und Prosaisten* (Leipzig, 1863), I, 211-239; G. Milchsack, "Zu B. Waldis," *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, XI (1882), 171 f.; L. Arbusow, *Beitrag zur Lebensgeschichte des B. Waldis* (Letter of May 31, 1531), *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Rußlands* (1909), p. 39 f.; H. Lindemann, *Studien zur Persönlichkeit von B. Waldis* (Jena diss., 1922)—[this was never printed]; E. Stahl, "B. Waldis," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, 81 (1928), No. 132; O. Clemen, "B. Waldis," *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 5 (1931), col. 1748 f.; E. Schröder, "Über den Herkunft des B. Waldis," *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, LI, 89 f.; P. Schwenke "Ein Buch aus dem Besitz von B. Waldis," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XXXII (1915), 218 ff.; E. Weller, "Zwei Einblattdrucke von B. Waldis und Johann Agricola," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, N.F. IV (1856), col. 364 f.

Berger³⁰ add details. The majority of literary historians after Ger-vinus have simply restated what had already been said, or have dis-posed of Waldis with a few cursory remarks. Although J. G. Grässe, author of the most compendious bibliography of the last century, cites Waldis' works and states emphatically that he deserves to be better known,³¹ scholars failed to take the hint. Günther Müller³² is one of the few authors of literary histories who gives the impression that he has read the chief works of Waldis. His discussions of *De parabell vum vorlorn Szohn* and *Esopus* are ample, while the remaining works are summarily dismissed. Like Müller, Stammer³³ treats Waldis' secondary works far too briefly.

* * *

The most urgent need is that of a comprehensive, well-written biography of Burkhard Waldis. There is a great opportunity here, for he is actually little known. The biographer should seek to present a complete picture of his life, character, and personality; his ideas of religion, ethics, politics, society, poetry; whom he knew; what he wrote and why he wrote as he did; the significance of his works for his own time and for the present day; local allusions in his works, especially the local color in his fables;³⁴ statements of contemporaries about Waldis and his works. For the greater part, these problems would have to be decided from the internal evidence furnished by his own writings, for the external sources of information have long since been exhausted. E. Martens aptly remarks that "Burkards Fabeln sind ein Spiegel seiner Lebensanschauung,"³⁵ and follows this statement with a brief and inadequate treatment.

³⁰ A. Berger, *Die Schaubühne im Dienste der Reformation (Deutsche Literatur . . . in Entwicklungsreihen*, Leipzig: Reclam, Reihe IX, Bd. V), pp. 114-142.

³¹ *Handbuch der allgemeinen Literaturgeschichte aller bekannten Völker der Welt*, etc. (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1850), III, 507 f.

³² *Deutsche Dichtung von der Renaissance bis zum Anfang des Barock* (Wildpark-Potsdam, 1927), pp. 147 ff., 151.

³³ *Von der Mystik zum Barock* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1927), pp. 213 f., 237 f. In sharp contrast to the literary historians cited above, J. Janssen (*Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Freiburg i. B., 1901, VI, 252 ff., 314-319, 426 ff.) finds no literary merit whatever in Waldis' works.

³⁴ Gassner, *op. cit.*, p. 7, remarks that Zachariä found the fables of Waldis "ganz angenehm, da wir aus diesem Grunde eine außerordentliche treue und lebhaft Schilderung der damaligen Sitten und Lebensart gewinnen." Cf. also the recension of *Fabeln und Erzählungen in B. Waldis Manier in der Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen* (Jan. 3, 1772), p. 5 f.: "Die geschwätzig Naivität des B. Waldis interessiert uns deswegen, weil sie ein treues Bild der Denkart und der Sitten unserer Vorfahren bey uns bleibt, sie uns in allen kleinen Nebenzügen ausmahlt, und besonders bey Waldis aus dem Herzen kommt."

³⁵ *Entstehungsgeschichte von B. Waldis Esop* (Göttingen diss., 1907), p. 61. Reviewed by E. Schröder, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, XL (1908), 150 f. M. Staeger, *Die Geschichte der deutschen Fabeltheorie* (Basel diss., Bern, 1929).

Further biographical details might be derived from a careful study of the *Psalter*, which should reflect Burkhard's changing ideas and attitudes during his stay in prison. Max Horn,³⁶ however, has shown how difficult it is to determine the date of origin of these songs. He directs attention to Schirren's error in placing the date of the composition of the twenty-fifth psalm during the period of Burkhard's imprisonment. Upon a hasty examination of a portion of this song, one might be tempted to agree with Schirren:

Meins hertzen weh richt mich ietzt hin,
Komm Herr und tröst mich wider,
Schaw wie ich gar vernichtet bin,
Im elend lig darnider,
Darumb vergib die Sünde mein,
Sih an wie vil der feinde sein,
Die mich on sach verfolgen.

How well this seems to reflect the mood of the wretched prisoner! Yet it was printed some ten years previous to Burkhard's incarceration! Moreover, it was composed, not by Waldis, but by Knöpfen; the former merely translated it into High German. Hence we see how careful the investigator must be in dealing with the internal evidence.

In addition to a biography we need critical editions of some of Waldis' important works in the light of modern knowledge. There exists, for example, no adequate critical examination of the editions of his best-known work. I refer to the *Esopus* of 1548 ("A"), of which only two copies have survived.³⁷ J. Tittmann's "reprint" of the *editio princeps* normalizes the orthography and omits forty of the most important fables of the fourth book.³⁸ The second edition of 1555 ("B") has likewise survived in two copies.³⁹ H. Kurz issued a good critical edition of the third printing of 1557, which is the last one in which Waldis could have collaborated.⁴⁰ Kurz described the various editions and appended the variant readings of "A," "B," and "C," with attention chiefly to versification rather than

³⁶ *Der Psalter des B. Waldis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Halle diss., 1911), pp. 28 ff.

³⁷ Now at Berlin and Göttingen.

³⁸ Leipzig, 1882, II.

³⁹ Wolfenbüttel and Berlin.

⁴⁰ *Esopus von B. Waldis*, "Deutsche Bibliothek" (Leipzig, 1862, II). H. Kleinstück, *Die Rhythmik der kurzen Reimpaare des B. Waldis* (Leipzig diss., 1910), p. 56, regards it as impossible that the poet could have personally revised editions "B" and "C"; he ascribes both the corrections and errors deviating from "A" to the printer. Kleinstück's study is based upon the text of "A" (1548). For a review of this dissertation see E. Henschke, *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, 1911, 2916 f., and K. Heln, *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, 1914, 234 ff.

contents. Three further editions ("D," "E," "F") have never been adequately collated.⁴¹

We have available for general use, therefore, one critical edition of the third printing of 1557. This provides us with the contents and language of Waldis' fables. What one still needs, however, is a critical treatment of the *editio princeps* and a comparative study of the three editions which appeared during Burkhard's lifetime. In addition, these should be compared with the editions that appeared after his death. By means of the first comparison we should be able to show what changes the author himself made and thereupon draw inferences concerning him. The second comparison should yield a picture of how posterity regarded his work.

Many additional works of Waldis have not received the attention they deserve; several have never been reprinted, although they have been described.⁴² Of these, some are of little consequence, while others—such as the *Psalter* and *Teuerdanck*—need to be published with critical comments. The edition of *De parabell vum verlorn Szohn* prepared by Hoefler,⁴³ which is unfortunately linguistically useless as a result of his arbitrary treatment of the original orthography, is replaced by G. Milchsack⁴⁴ and A. Berger.⁴⁵

The *Psalter* has been described by P. Wackernagel,⁴⁶ but there are no editions available for general use. Numerous individual songs were disseminated far and wide.⁴⁷ The hymnals of nearly every sizable German city contained Waldis' songs up until the seventeenth century, when these began to disappear. In a few isolated cases they remained popular until the end of that century.

⁴¹ "D," Frankfurt a. M.: Han, n.d. (Cassel); "E," Frankfurt a. M.: Raben, 1565 (Copies at Berlin and Wolfenbüttel); "F," Frankfurt a. M.: Basseus, 1584 (Berlin, Hannover, Wolfenbüttel). The following pirated edition, containing 319 fables of Waldis and 19 from other sources, fails to mention the source: *Newer vnd vollkommener Esopus darinnen allerhand lustige, Neue vnd Alte Fabeln, Schimpffreden, vnd Gleichnissen, theils auch wahrhaftige Geschichte, vnd auserlesene Historien, begriffen*, etc. (Huldricum Wolgemuth, ed., Frankfurt a. M.: Hofern-Treudels).

⁴² Cf. GGR, II, 450 ff., Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 15.

⁴³ B. Waldis *parabel vum verlornen Sohn, ein niederdeutsches Fastnachtsspiel*, etc. (Greifswald, 1851). Also under the title *Denkmäler niederdeutscher Sprache und Literatur*, etc., vol. II. Of little value is O. Müller, B. Waldis, *der verlorene Sohn, erneuert* (Munich, 1924).

⁴⁴ *Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1881), XXX. Reprint by F. Froning, *Das Drama der Reformationszeit, Deutsche National-Literatur*, XXII (Stuttgart, n.d.), pp. 31-100.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.* See note 30 above.

⁴⁶ *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes* (Frankfurt a. M., 1855), p. 254, No. 646.

⁴⁷ K. v. Winterfeld, *Der evangelische Kirchengesang und sein Verhältnis zur Kunst des Tonsatzes* (Leipzig, 1843, III), I, 229 ff.; P. Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von den ältesten Zeiten bis Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1864-1870, V), III, pp. 647-683; Gassner, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 ff.

Editions of several of the lesser works are available: *Gutachten über Münzveränderungen in Riga*,⁴⁸ etc.; the four polemics against Duke Heinrich of Brunswick;⁴⁹ *Ein wahrhaftige Historien von zweyen Mewsen*;⁵⁰ *Lobspruch der alten Deutschen*.⁵¹

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In spite of what has already been accomplished in the Burkhard Waldis studies, much remains to be done, especially with respect to the origins of the various works. We need interpretative studies dealing with the literary, cultural, and folkloristic⁵² aspects, rather than purely linguistic investigations. There are many unsolved problems relating to the chief works as well as to the lesser ones. In addition to the study suggested above concerning the origins of certain songs in Waldis' *Psalter*, there are many similar problems which await their solutions. The astonishing variety of Waldis' strophic forms has never been elucidated. Of the eighty-six forms in his *Psalter*, no more than a mere nineteen had demonstrably appeared in church songs before 1553.⁵³ It would be interesting to determine which of the remaining types were derived from secular songs and which were the author's own invention. It is a curious fact that no songs by Burkhard Waldis were incorporated in the Protestant ritual for the city of Riga. This is especially surprising, since numerous products from the pens of Knöpken and other lesser poets were included. Not even his hundred-twenty-seventh psalm (interpolated in *De parabell vam vorlorn Szohn*), which was cast in the familiar hymnal strophe, received notice in this ritual. It is likewise not clear whether Waldis composed other songs during his long stay in Riga. Under the designation "Mus. 4° 94," there are preserved in the *Landesbibliothek* at Cassel four books of a musical manuscript containing four- and five-voice compositions for all of Waldis' psalms.⁵⁴ Zimmer, who was the first to discover the agreement of the texts of the songs with the psalms of Waldis, revised and published forty of them.⁵⁵ Nagel⁵⁶ has proved that Johann

⁴⁸ Printed by C. Napiersky in *Mitteilungen zur livländischen Geschichte*, VIII (Riga, 1856), 334.

⁴⁹ Cf. note 6 above.

⁵⁰ H. Kurz, *op. cit.*, II, 309-320. See note 7 above.

⁵¹ Cf. note 8 above.

⁵² Cf. A. Stiefel, "Der Schwank von den drei Mönchen," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, XIII, 88 ff.; C. Fasola, "Franco Sacchetti e B. Waldis," *Rivista mensile di letteratura tedesca*, I, 285 ff.

⁵³ Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 129. See note 30 above.

⁵⁴ Described by K. Israel, ed., *Übersichtlicher Katalog der Musikalien der ständischen Landesbibliothek zu Kassel* (Kassel, 1881), pp. 70 f.

⁵⁵ 40 *evangelische Psalmlieder. Für vierstimmigen Chor in neuer Bearbeitung* (Quedlinburg, 1881): Psalms 1-37, 39. Psalms 13 and 20 each appear twice.

⁵⁶ *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, VII (1905/6), 80-110.

Heugel, *Kapellmeister* for Landgrave Philipp of Hesse, arranged the songs for four and five voices. For the hundred and fifty-five songs there are one hundred and fifty-two melodies. It is not known whether Waldis composed the melodies himself, or whether he was assisted in this task by one or more musicians.⁵⁷ Horn⁵⁸ excludes Heugel as the possible composer, stating that he merely revised the songs at a later date. One of the most difficult musical problems of the sixteenth century is the allied question of whether the melody or the text was composed first. Burkhard Waldis is said to have received the initial stimulus for the writing of his *Psalter* from Luther's explanation of the hundred-twenty-seventh psalm in the latter's *Brief an die Christen in Riga, Reval und Dorpat*.⁵⁹ Subsequently, Waldis used Luther's psalms as a basis for his *Psalter*. Both Luther and Waldis demanded that church-songs adhere closely to the texts of the psalms. Whether this characteristic in Waldis is to be traced to the influence of Luther, whom he heard lecture in Wittenberg in 1541, has not been determined. The various points of relationship which existed between these two men should be brought to light.

The language, metres, and syntactical forms of the most important works by Waldis have already received attention.⁶⁰ Comparative treatments with other works of the time are needed, however. His writings might be utilized as sources for dialect studies. *De parabell van vorlorn Szohn*, for instance, represents at once one of the oldest monuments of Low-German literature and an invaluable source for the student of Low-German grammar and vocabulary. While the theme of the prodigal son has been amply treated,⁶¹ there remain certain specific unclarified problems in connection with the version of Burkhard Waldis. His play, which is one of the most important for the drama of the entire sixteenth century, remained wholly unknown until Karl Goedeke directed attention to it in his *Elf Bücher deutscher Dichtung*.⁶²

⁵⁷ Winterfeld, *op. cit.* (Note 47), p. 234. See also J. Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder aus den Quellen geschöpft* (Gütersloh, 1889-1893, VI), V, 401.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.* (Note 36), p. 71.

⁵⁹ Cf. Berger, *op. cit.* (Note 30), p. 127.

⁶⁰ Th. Heppner, *Die Laut- und Flexionsverhältnisse in B. Waldis' Bearbeitung des Teuerdanck im Verhältnis zu denen des Originals* (Munich diss., Erlangen, 1907); J. Hildner, *Untersuchungen über die Syntax der Konditionalsätze bei B. Waldis* (Leipzig diss., 1889); M. Horn, *op. cit.* See note 36; E. Martens, *op. cit.* See note 35; H. Kleinstück, *op. cit.* See note 40; A. Leitzmann, "Zu B. Waldis," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, LII (1928), 291-304, discusses the use of Low-German rimes and words by Waldis.

⁶¹ For a good bibliography of the subject see A. Taylor, *Problems in German Literary History of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Modern Language Association of America (New York and London, 1939), p. 108, note 88.

⁶² Hannover, 1849, I, 104. Cf. H. Holstein, *Das Drama vom Verlorenen Sohn* (Halle, 1880), p. 53.

The question of the originality of Waldis' drama is still a moot one. Kawerau⁶³ believes that both the drama of Waldis and the *Acolastus* of Gnapheus are based upon a common Latin "drama sacrum." Berger⁶⁴ likewise assumes a common source, while Milchsack⁶⁵ expresses doubt that Waldis worked with such a model. Bolte⁶⁶ suggests the possibility that Waldis' drama might have served as a basis for Gnapheus but fails to decide the question due to the paucity of information concerning the first printing of *De parabellam vorlorn Szohn*. Kurt Michel⁶⁷ argues that the fifteenth chapter of St. Luke and Burkhard's own experiences furnish the material for this drama. A thorough comparative study of all of these factors will be necessary before the ultimate solution to the problem is reached. Another unanswered question in regard to this work is the possible influence upon the contemporaries and successors of Waldis other than Gnapheus. Milchsack's⁶⁸ categorical assertion that this drama remained entirely unknown to later poets, with the possible exception of Hans Sachs, requires proof.

A number of studies have been devoted to the investigation of the origin of *Esopus*;⁶⁹ nevertheless, the sources of a multitude of Waldis' fables are still shrouded in mystery. Similarly, little is known about the influence of *Esopus* upon the contemporaries and immediate successors of Waldis. The fact that it went through six editions in a period of less than fifty years, however, attests to its great popularity. The influence of these fables upon Gellert, Hagedorn, and Zachariä has been adequately discussed,⁷⁰ although none of these treatises is easily available. In summing up the situation, Jördens⁷¹ suggests another problem:

⁶³ ADB, XL, 707.

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 132.

⁶⁵ *Neudrucke*, etc., XXX, p. viii.

⁶⁶ J. Bolte, ed., *Gulielmus Gnapheus Acolastus* (Berlin, 1891), Introd.

⁶⁷ *Das Wesen des Reformationsdramas entwickelt am Stoff des verlorenen Sohns*, (Giessen diss., Düren, 1934), p. 25 f.

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. viii.

⁶⁹ E. Pabst, "Eine Fabel des B. Waldis, Vom Hundt vnd Löwen," *Beiträge zur Kunde Ehst-, Liv-, und Kurlands*, I (1837), 80 ff.; A. Stiefel, "Zu den Quellen des Esopus von B. Waldis," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CIX (1902), 249-279; A. Stiefel, "Über den Esopus des B. Waldis," *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, III (1903), 486 ff. Cf. also C. Fasola, *op. cit.* and note 40 above; E. Martens, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 ff.; A. Leitzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-304; A. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 65, remarks that "such popular writers as Burkhard Waldis and Erasmus Alberus may have drawn upon the Adagia."

⁷⁰ J. Gassner *Über den Einfluß des B. Waldis auf die Fabeldichtung Gellerts* (Progr., Klagenfurt, 1909); J. Gassner, *Der Einfluß des B. Waldis auf die Fabeldichtung Hagedorns* (Progr., Klagenfurt, 1905); F. Kunz, *Hagedorns Verhältnis zu B. Waldis* (Progr., Teschen, 1892). For Gassner on Waldis and Zachariä see note 17 above.

⁷¹ *Op. cit.*, V, 186.

Burkard Waldis Fabeln geriethen sehr bald in unverdiente Vergessenheit. Schon Rollenhagen, *der ihn doch in seinem Froschmäusler benutzt zu haben scheint*, gedenkt seiner mit keinem Worte. . . .

An important source of information concerning Waldis is his revision of Emperor Maximilian's *Teuerdanck*.⁷² In a dedication to Adolf Wilhelm von Dornberg of Abterode, Waldis remarks that he allowed some of the original to stand but changed many of the old rimes: ". . . etlich tausend par Verse auf Erforderung der Not hinzugemacht, auch etliche umgeschmiedet und verbessert."⁷³ In addition to refining and polishing the verses of his source, Waldis interpolated a chapter (the 117th) of his own invention, an allegory of the war waged by Maximilian against France. This has never been subjected to a critical examination. The reason for the popularity of Waldis' revision has not been satisfactorily explained. A comparison between this and the original edition should furnish information concerning the nature of the changes and the attitude of the reviser and his age toward chivalry. This is pointed out by Archer Taylor in his *Problems in German Literary History of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.⁷⁴ He makes a further interesting suggestion: "It is curious that an outspoken Hessian Protestant of bourgeois origin should choose to reissue the work of an Austrian Catholic emperor inspired by medieval chivalry."⁷⁵ Jördens hinted at this same problem over a century ago.⁷⁶

Of considerable value to the student of the culture-history of the time is Waldis' *Das Päpstisch Reych*. Thus far no one has taken up the suggestion offered by Goedeke: "Die Übersetzung ist eine genaue Umschreibung von Naogeorg's Gedicht; für die innere Geschichte der Zeit sehr belehrend."⁷⁷ Moreover, according to Adolf Hauffen,⁷⁸ many details from Waldis' version were utilized by

⁷² Cf. note 10; C. Biener, "Die Fassungen des *Teuerdanck*," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, LXVII (1930), 177-196; K. Ries, *Die Bearbeitung des 'Teuerdanck' durch B. Waldis* (Heidelberg diss., 1921). This was never printed, except as an extract in *Jahrbuch der Philosophischen Fakultät* (Heidelberg, 1920/21), I, 38 ff.; Th. Heppner, *op. cit.* (Note 60).

⁷³ *GGR*, II, 452 f.

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 66. See note 61.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.*, V, 189: "Er wagte aber dabei sehr viele eigenmächtige Veränderungen, strich aus und setzte von dem Seinigen hinzu, vermutlich um das Werk zu modernisieren und seiner Zeitgenossen agenehmer zu machen."

⁷⁷ *GGR*, II, 453.

⁷⁸ Johann Fischart. *Ein Literaturbild aus der Zeit der Gegenreformation*. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1921), I, 216. Cf. *GGR*, II, 450: "Fischart hat manches daraus abgeschrieben." See also *ADB*, XL, 706. Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 74, note 1, cites from Fischart's work the following reference to Burkard Waldis: "Kond nicht der Hess mit seinen Weinbetränckten Versen die Psalmen schön ausstrucken?" Cf. Höpfner, *Reformbestrebungen in der deutschen Dichtung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Progr., Berlin, 1866), p. 27.

Fischart in his *Geschichtklitterung*. Marginal notes found in Fischart's manuscripts indicate that he used Waldis as a source in his three youthful works: *Nacht Rab oder Nebelkräh*; *Der Barfüsser Secten und Kuttentstreit*; *Von S. Dominici, des Predigermünchs, vnd S. Francisci Barfüssers, artlichem Leben vnd grossen Greweln*.⁷⁹ His songs sometimes bear a similarity to those of Burkhard Waldis.⁸⁰ Indeed, it is not unlikely that Fischart learned something of the art of versification from a study of the writings of his Hessian precursor.⁸¹ According to Goedeke, Burkhard's *Lobspruch der alten Deutschen* stimulated Fischart to vie with him in this genre.⁸² The exact extent of Fischart's dependence upon Waldis and how he made use of his source has never been determined. An elaboration of this material might result in an instructive monograph.

Another of Waldis' works whose sources are yet to be clarified is his *Historie von zweyen Mewsen*.⁸³ Kleinstück⁸⁴ offers convincing proof that Waldis used in part the sixth fable of Erasmus Alberus for this polemic and attempts to demonstrate through metrical means that he also made use of other fables of the same author. The relationship between Waldis and Alberus should be worked out in detail.

One charming characteristic of Burkhard's simple, popular mode of expression is his frequent use of proverbs. As far as I have been able to determine, his works have not yet been exploited as a source of those proverbs and proverbial terms current during the sixteenth century in Germany.

Obviously nothing of far-reaching importance has been achieved in the Burkhard Waldis studies since Goedeke, that is to say, for some fifty years. Consequently, there is a great opportunity for students of German literature to solve the many interesting and important problems associated with this figure. The author will have accomplished his purpose if he has succeeded in awakening in the reader an active interest in a much-neglected personality.

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⁷⁹ Hauffen, *op. cit.*, I, 130 f.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 89.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, II, 274; 278.

⁸² *GGR*, II, 450.

⁸³ Cf. note 7. Sargossa Govin, *Passe-partout de l'église romaine*, I, 287 f. (a dog eats a consecrated host). For further bibliography see Siith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, V, 345, No. V, 342 (toad swallows wafer), and R. Christiansen, *Folklore Fellows Communications*, XXIV, 83, where a toad which has swallowed a wafer must be burned. The occurrence of a rat in one variant is cited.

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.* (Note 40), p. 131. See also note 50.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CRITICAL ARTHURIAN LITERATURE FOR THE YEAR 1940¹

Prepared by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ADA</i>	Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum
<i>AHR</i>	American Historical Review
<i>AJP</i>	American Journal of Philology
<i>AnglB</i>	Beiblatt zur Anglia
<i>Arch. Camb.</i>	Archæologia Cambrensis
<i>Archiv</i>	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen
<i>BBCS</i>	Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies
<i>Beiträge</i>	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur
<i>BH</i>	Bulletin hispanique
<i>DLZ</i>	Deutsche Literaturzeitung
<i>EHR</i>	English Historical Review
<i>ELH</i>	English Literary History
<i>ES</i>	Englische Studien
<i>E. Studies</i>	English Studies
<i>FF</i>	Forschungen und Fortschritte
<i>GGA</i>	Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen
<i>GRM</i>	Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift
<i>GSLI</i>	Giornale storico della letteratura italiana
<i>JEGP</i>	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
<i>LGRPh</i>	Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie
<i>LTLS</i>	Times Literary Supplement (London)
<i>LZ</i>	Literarisches Zentralblatt
<i>MLN</i>	Modern Language Notes
<i>MLQ</i>	Modern Language Quarterly
<i>MLR</i>	Modern Language Review
<i>MP</i>	Modern Philology
<i>Neophil.</i>	Neophilologus
<i>Neuphil. Mit.</i>	Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
<i>N & Q</i>	Notes and Queries
<i>PMLA</i>	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
<i>PQ</i>	Philological Quarterly
<i>Rev. belge</i>	Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire
<i>RCHL</i>	Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature
<i>RES</i>	Review of English Studies
<i>RFE</i>	Revista de Filología española
<i>RR</i>	Romanic Review
<i>SP</i>	Studies in Philology
<i>TNTL</i>	Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde
<i>YWES</i>	The Year's Work in English Studies
<i>YWMLS</i>	The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies
<i>ZCPH</i>	Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie
<i>ZDA</i>	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum
<i>ZDPH</i>	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie
<i>ZFSL</i>	Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur
<i>ZRPPh</i>	Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie

¹ Some earlier items which were omitted from the last list (*MLQ*, 1, 129-174) have been included. As in past years, I am indebted to Miss Jane D. Harding of the Newberry Library for several of the titles. Many items for the second half of 1940 are doubtless missing and many others could not be verified. A few German journals have come through the blockade, but almost nothing from the rest of the continent.

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REVIEWS

The Growth of Literature. By H. MUNRO CHADWICK and N. KERSHAW CHADWICK. Three volumes. Volume I, *The Ancient Literatures of Europe* (1932), pp. xx + 672; Volume II, *Russian Oral Literature, Yugoslav Oral Poetry, Early Indian Literature, Early Hebrew Literature* (1936), pp. xvii + 783; Volume III, *Oral Literature of the Tatars, of Polynesian . . . , Notes on the Oral Literature of some African Peoples, General Survey* (1940), pp. xxvi + 928. Cambridge University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. \$9.00 single volume; \$22.50, set.

"Is it possible to trace the operation of any general principles in the growth of literature?" So runs the opening sentence of the Preface of the first volume of this huge encyclopaedic analysis of literature in its earliest written stage. The concept "literature" is made general by the vast scope of the undertaking, which goes in for comparative literature with a vengeance. The very literature with which many of us are familiar, however, is excluded, because

For such comparative study the modern literatures of the West offer only a limited amount of material. Owing to the constant interaction of these literatures upon one another for several centuries past, and before that to the common influence of Latin upon all of them, they have had little chance of independent development. The most valuable material for our purpose comes from ancient records unaffected, or only partially affected, by the influence of Latin or other languages of wide circulation, and from isolated or backward communities of the present day which are still unaffected by cosmopolitan literature (I, ix).

The results of this line of thought are that in Volume I the following groups of literary materials are examined: Greek literature 650-550 B. C.; "island literatures"—English literature "from the period between the seventh and the twelfth centuries," Welsh poetry before the twelfth century, Irish and Icelandic literature before the twelfth century. Passages in these "island literatures" which betray evidence of influence from the Latino-Christian line of force are in the main left out of consideration. Moreover, in this attempt to study literature pure and undefiled, the writers ignore virtually completely the studies or opinions of other scholars (I, xix).

These five literatures thus established, and those named in the titles of Volumes II and III, are then systematically classified by type, according to this scheme:

- Type A: narrative poetry or saga, intended for entertainment.
- Type B: poetry (very rarely prose) in the form of speeches in character.
- Type C: poetry or prose intended for instruction.
- Type D: poetry (seldom prose) of celebration or appeal, especially panegyrics, elegies, hymns, prayers and exhortations.
- Type E: personal poetry (very seldom prose) relating to the author himself and his surroundings.

These types are set up for convenience, and it was inevitable that some blurring among them should take place; and a yet more serious drawback appears when we note that the authors have been compelled to make arbitrary assumptions with respect to the genesis of such works as *Beowulf*, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the Welsh materials, especially the desperate triads, various books of the Old Testament, the Irish and Scandinavian sagas—to name no more—about which relatively little that is definite is agreed upon by the specialists, either because trustworthy information is lacking or because conflicting theories have not yet been reconciled. In the main, all of the works here studied are assumed to have passed into written form immediately, or all but immediately, from oral sources; or, to put it the other way around, they are assumed to have had no written sources. The underlying assumption here, that a recorded literary tradition is somehow less fruitful or valid than oral tradition, is of course not susceptible of proof. Many will feel inclined to place credence in traditions which can be checked and verified, studied and re-studied, with a minimum of undemonstrable assumptions and a maximum of objective, established facts. Others will welcome this vast work in which we leave the lowlands, the uplands, the highlands and even the mountain-tops to soar forth in quest of a Pisgah-sight of the ancient earth-works of literature all but obliterated by the erosion of the centuries—always provided that the ultimate view has been worth the effort involved in attaining altitude.

By the time Chapter X, "Antiquarian Learning," in the first volume, has been reached, the authors recognize that because of the blurring already referred to, with types like CA and CB demanding attention, a further classification is essential, and they propose that the more purely antiquarian portions be divided thus:

- I. Genealogies.
- II. Other catalogues.
- III. The origins of place-names and personal names.
- IV. The origins of customs and institutions.
- V. The origins of places and buildings.
- VI. The origins of nations.
- VII. The origins of mankind and the world.

Again we are confronted with the underlying assumption—which may or may not be sound—that we are dealing in all cases with independent clumps of tradition. No one of Types A through E already listed, no one of Divisions I through VII above, and no one of the numerous possible contaminations of these types, is supposed to have the power to develop in any way save vertically. Type A in Hebrew poetry did not influence Type A in Greek poetry, Type C in Irish did not influence Type C in Welsh or English or Scandinavian, the devices adopted by one linguistic group in Type III did not influence another linguistic group, and so on. One thinks of the valiant labors of the scholars of the last century and more in just these matters, of the painstaking efforts to discriminate be-

tween migratory and autochthonous materials, between *wander-märchen* and oikostype, and one wonders whether it was really wise of Professor and Mrs. Chadwick to take the position that they would consult only those scholarly works which they chose to consult or which happened to come to hand. Has there ever been a period in the known history of the world during which a folk productive of literature oral or written could immure itself from outside influences as completely as have the authors of these volumes? Still, if we find that self-immurement produces patterns which can be fruitfully employed, we shall feel that the method is justified by the results.

In the main each chapter concludes with a survey of the results in that chapter, and periodically a survey of the material covered in several chapters is made. At the end of Chapter Three, for instance, in the first volume, we read:

It need hardly be pointed out that the analysis of the heroic records into types (A, B, C, D, E), adopted above, is merely for convenience; the distinctions must not be pressed too rigidly. Thus, one could cut out from the *Iliad* a passage which in itself would be similar in all respects to *Gud-rúnarkviða I*. Indeed the attraction of Type A, at least to a modern reader, depends largely upon the extent to which it approximates to Type B. Again, it may seem arbitrary to refer *Culhwach and Olwen* to Type C, when Irish sagas which contain much informative matter are given under Type A. We suspect, however, that in the latter this element is largely secondary. We have had more hesitation in refusing to admit *Tal. XXXV* as a Welsh example of Type A; for it is practically a narrative poem and contains three speeches. This is indeed clearly a case of transition from D to A. Lastly, it must be borne in mind that if the poems referred to Types D and E are not admitted to be genuine, they must all be assigned to Type B (I, 62).

This passage seems to me to indicate that after only sixty-two of their two-thousand-odd pages had been written, the authors themselves had begun to suspect that perhaps the patterns which they had set up were not especially well adapted to the literatures which they were studying. Variations of this sort multiply as the literatures analyzed increase in number; see for instance II, 337 ff., 407 ff., 477 ff., 487 ff., 666 ff.; but it is in the third and last volume, naturally, that the concluding summaries are given; and to this volume, published eight years later than Volume I, we therefore turn to test the results of this elaborate search for useful patterns.

In the first place, we are told in the *Preface* that

The connection between literature and writing is accidental, and belongs to a secondary phase in the history of literature. [The fact that without this accidental connection we should not today have any literature at all, including all of the literature studied here, seems to diminish considerably the significance of this statement.] In general, however, oral literature tends to give way to written literature with the advance of civilisation, though it may persist, and within certain limitations even flourish, among the backward elements of civilised peoples. It is to peoples in what is commonly called a barbaric phase of culture and to the backward elements among more advanced peoples that our attention has been given. On the other hand, . . . we have not concerned ourselves with the beginnings of literature or with those primitive phases of culture in which it first originated (III, xi).

The Growth of Literature, then, by the authors' own explicit statement just quoted, is a misnomer, as many a person who picks it up expecting the title to be justified by the contents will learn, as complete a misnomer as H. V. Routh's *God, Man and Epic Poetry*, which takes up at least some of the materials here studied, and which I believe is ignored by the authors of *The Growth of Literature*. This matter of ignoring the work of other scholars seems to be something of a fashion in such surveys, for I find that Solomon Gandz does not use either the volumes by Routh or those here under review by the Chadwicks in *The Dawn of Literature* (*Osiris*, VII, 1939). The word "growth," of course, implies the idea of evolution, of development from one stage to the next stage more advanced; but here literature is limited to the one stage of the first known written version in each of many languages. A study of the "growth" of the *Odyssey*, of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, of *Beowulf*, would involve far more speculation than the Chadwicks would care to undertake. Once these and the others have achieved their growth, then the Chadwicks are willing to compare them with one another (not "each other," as our authors have it almost consistently) and to infer that the circumstances involved in the development of these were analogous to those known to have existed in the evolution, say, of much Russian and Yugo-Slav folk literature—and known in the fullest detail, perhaps, in the case of the great Finnish folk epic, the *Kalevala*; but we have no assistance from this field, because Finnish materials have been excluded. *The Growth of Literature* is a title certain to excite the attention of any student of literature; misnomer as it is here, I am at a loss to present a title of equal allure which will be at the same time factually correct. An accurate title, such as the Chadwicks' "a survey of the native (oral) literature of certain selected peoples" (III, xxiv) would be pretty dull. We are told definitely in Volume I that the basis of selection of the literatures studied was their independence of one another—hence the exclusion of all Greek literature after the sixth century, B. C., and of all the vast materials influenced by the Latino-Christian tradition—and yet here we read, with some astonishment:

... Folktales travel far and wide. Musical instruments, and doubtless also various forms of music, are acquired by one people from another. We suspect the same to be true of ritual practices and of ideas such as that of a coming destruction of the world. But is a type of poetry, say narrative poetry, derived by one people from another, or does it originate independently everywhere or in different countries? So also with the idea of a community of deities, modelled on a human community—is it a native growth or imported? It is hoped that our survey may help towards the formation and insulation of a number of problems of this kind, and supply data which may lead to their solution. Probably not one of the literatures we have examined—not even the Polynesian—is of purely native growth (III, xxiii).

The self-immurement above referred to seems to be emphasized amazingly in this same *Preface*, when our authors tell us

... it is time that the science of literature should be recognized as an essential branch of anthropological study. Man's intellectual activities deserve attention quite as much as his material culture or social organisation. Yet, whereas the study of the latter subjects has made immense progress in recent times, that of the former is still generally ignored . . . (III, xxiv).

Yes, you read the passage correctly. What you have just read says that "Man's intellectual activities" are "still generally ignored." By whom? Apparently by anthropologists of the line Ridgeway-Frazer-Chadwick.

We still have to assess the value of the patterns found as set forth in "A General Survey" in Volume III, pp. 697-903. A few brief quotations will suffice:

... Heroic princes were generous patrons of minstrels, partly in order to get their own fame celebrated. A great incentive was doubtless given to the art thereby. The audiences may well have been critical; for princes frequently cultivated minstrelsy themselves. Where narrative poetry was in use, it was evidently the chief entertainment of the courts; and it attained a perfection which has not since been equalled (III, 749).

Antiquarian learning is found in some form or other among almost all the peoples whose literatures we have discussed. It would seem to be the most widespread of all forms of intellectual activity (III, 802).

Riddles are perhaps to be found everywhere; and riddle poetry, of a more or less elaborate character, is very widely distributed. Riddles which are expressed in any detail, whether as complete poems or incidentally, are closely related to the descriptive poetry we have just been considering. Often indeed the only difference is that a request for interpretation takes the place of the name of the object (III, 834).

From this brief survey it will be seen that the use of spells is extremely widespread, if not universal. Among Christian peoples they have tended to be forgotten; where they are found they may be regarded as survivals from earlier forms of religion. Among non-Christian peoples both spell and prayer are commonly in use. It is not easy to distinguish between the two; sometimes they tend to be combined. Under Christianity, however, prayer has tended to oust the spell (III, 840).

The seer then is in a double sense the intermediary between men and deities; he is employed by men in order to approach the deities, and by deities to announce their messages to men. His position differs from that of priests—who commonly inherit from him—only in the fact that he owes it to his romantic power or inspiration, whereas priests owe theirs to traditional rights (III, 853).

In short, the generalizations arrived at are simple statements of fact which any mature reader already knows.

The ideas of the Folklore Fellows stand abundantly vindicated by these three volumes, encyclopaedic in scope but with neither the ease of reference nor the informativeness of the encyclopaedia. We can expect results only when we restrict our studies to relatively limited areas and to relatively short periods of time, because only under such conditions can we collect reliable data abundant enough to permit of satisfactorily sound inferences. The effort of the Chadwicks is a gallant one, gallant and arduous, and admirable as it is we must admit that it does not come off. One reason is precisely

that the authors are ignorant of the pertinent scholarship on many matters which they discuss in a vacuum. Although someone directed their attention to two articles by Axel Olrik (III, 901) published before his comprehensive *Ragnarøk*, nobody directed them to the work itself, which would have been of material assistance in pulling together significant facts otherwise widely dispersed. For thirty years the Folklore Fellows have been publishing their learned *Communications*, and yet they still remain largely unknown to English scholars. How much more illuminating the authors' consideration of riddles (cf. III, 836) would have been if they had read Walter Anderson's far-ranging study of the motif of "King John and the Bishop," *Kaiser und Abt* (FFC 42, Helsinki, 1923)! Determination to ignore the bibliographical resources of his subject does not free a scholar from his obligation to use them.

The printing of these volumes by the Cambridge University Press is very satisfactory. The proofs were most carefully read. Volumes as bulky as these require a more solid binding than the routine casings here used, and headbands should have been added. The brief index at the end of each volume is a very inadequate supplement to the enigmatic tables of contents. To get at the actual contents, one must read these three volumes entire; and neither the style nor the results will encourage many to do so.

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Plato on the Trial and Death of Socrates. Translated into English with Introduction, by LANE COOPER. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1941. Pp. xiv + 200. \$2.00.

In this second volume of translations from Plato, Lane Cooper has proceeded to the first of the traditional tetralogies for his material, the dialogues dealing with the last days of Socrates. Those who have read the preface to that other volume of Platonic writings, selected because of their "special interest to students of eloquence and poetry," will sense that Professor Cooper would be gratified if he could feel that those who here approach the story of Socrates had made with him the transition from the first book into the second and carried with them "the norms by which the works of Plato as a writer are to be explained." But helpful as any consideration of aesthetic principles might be to the general student of Plato, this volume avoids letting questions of style or even of philosophical content interfere with its primary concern in presenting intelligibly the dramatic story of the great teacher as Plato recalled it. Preface, brief general introduction, and briefer preliminary statements to the several dialogues are fortunately not made occasions for airing philosophical profundities, but they are such guiding injunctions to

the reader as a professor who has long read and taught an author feels will be helpful to another as they have been helpful to himself.

The nearest to formality of treatment has been given to the longest of these preliminary comments, the one emphasizing the dialogue as one more form of art in letters discovered by the Greeks and perfected by Plato. The major in literature may be so accustomed to accepting the dialogue as spontaneous and unplanned that he may be surprised to see the rhetorical terminology of Aristotle, "more inclusive and precise" than any in English, applied here as it has always been applied to epic and drama. But once the terms have been explained, *muthos*, Aristotle's soul of drama, is reserved for another purpose and *logos* suggested in its place to designate the "march or plot of the dialogue as a whole." *Muthos* is given back to the dramatic-narrative elements that ornament Plato's writings. In this sense, Chaerephon's visit to Delphi in the *Apology* is a myth. While it is rather tenuous when compared with the elaborate cadenzas in *Phaedrus* or *Republic*, it does heighten the effect of the whole and prove its strategic worth as a conscious psychological device, an element of structural design, and so adds new interest to the study of Plato's dialogue as art.

Plato has been done into English for centuries. The non-professional reader would want to know why another translation every year or two, and he would certainly require of a new intruder that it meet the challenge of Benjamin Jowett's immortal rendering, confident that any criticism textual experts might offer as to the accuracy of the older translation might well be disregarded for all practical purposes in view of its masterly English. We should make this case for Professor Cooper's new contribution, that while he does avail himself of more correct readings and so may save us from occasional faulty impressions, he has brought a style of writing to his task that makes the process of getting back to Plato a simpler one than does the style of Jowett or probably of any other lesser lights who have set their hands to the impossible feat of impersonating in English the Greek of Plato.

Every style in translation must probably be a synthetic one made to fit the special needs of the author in hand, with nothing much in the way of objective guides to keep it from being largely relative to the whimsies of the translator. The synthesis employed in this particular set of translations successfully meets the need for fluidity and translucency as characteristic Platonic qualities and therefore common to all the four dialogues, and then it does something more—it effects a degree of adaptation to the prevailing tone in each of the four. There is the element of smooth urbanity in *Euthyphro*, for instance, as against the serious-mindedness of the *Apology* that seems incisive and direct by comparison, as if there were an unusually large proportion of monosyllables used. *Phaedo* again is another thing: it succeeds in being at the same time both legato and moving. It has a greater effect of richness.

To single out arbitrarily one passage as illustrating the worth of this translation in the way of stylistic adaptability, knowing that the excerpt might well be contested as being typical, is no proper procedure for a reviewer, but I must admit peculiar satisfaction in running across an example in the *Apology* of Professor Cooper's willingness to depart at need from the conventions of translation English and his directness in transmitting to the inquiring student what Plato said in the way he said it. The passage is from 20C, where someone is imagined as interrupting with 'Αλλ', ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸ σὸν τί ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα; "But, Socrates, what is the matter with you?" Such is the line in Cooper. But Jowett seems to be apologizing for the bluntness of Plato's question—he quashes it entirely. By manipulating the homely vernacular of the lines that follow he secures an effect that is eminently proper, but ponderous and flat in comparison.

There is little in the book to criticize. Professor Cooper has achieved his synthesis without obtruding idiosyncrasies of style. Perhaps he has steered a little closely at times on the side of literalness—the Greek idiom sometimes shows through. And there is little of importance to correct. The device of brackets to denote speaker as against narrator in cases of dialogue within dialogue is helpful—at times it would be a relief even to the reader in Greek—but the compositor has not always been entirely consistent in its use (pp. 148, 153, 158, etc.). *Megara is west of Athens* (p. 101).

Students would doubtless welcome more comments and suggestions in the introductions that could be drawn from the translator's long experience in history and literature to take the place of classroom discussions. But at that, the book is personal and direct in its appeal and well achieves its purpose.

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Stages on Life's Way. By S. KIERKEGAARD. Translated by WALTER LOWRIE. Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. 472. \$6.00.

Stages on Life's Way, which Lowrie here presents in English, was published in 1845. It occupies a middle place in the "Kierkegaardian Literature," for it takes up the themes which went before and looks quite far into what comes after. In idea we have here almost the entire "indirect communication" of Kierkegaard; under the various pseudonyms he leads the reader through all the three "categories," namely the esthetic, the ethical, and the religious. The initiated reader could find the entire Kierkegaard in this one work.

The translation is good. There are evidences everywhere of painstaking care in the matter of reproducing in English the Kierkegaardian terminology. In Lowrie's large biography (*Kierkegaard*, Oxford, 1938) not the least feature is the glossary which may justly be regarded as a major contribution to Kierkegaard-philology. These studies are reflected throughout in the present translation. Occasional misprints, rather frequent "comma faults," and misuse of the conjunction slow up the reading at times; but these are small matters.

The volume suffers from a fault which Lowrie himself is aware of, namely the inadequacy of the Introduction. This is to be regretted because of the complex nature of the book and because otherwise it might well have served as the swiftest means of obtaining a perspective upon the phenomenon Kierkegaard. Moreover, scanty as it is, the Introduction betrays all too plainly the mannerisms of the Kierkegaard-convert. Kierkegaard has a way of captivating people body and soul. His devotees feel they must have "passion" and be good "lovers" and "haters." Not even Swenson was free from this vice. Page 14 of the Introduction offers an outstanding sample of this sort of thing. There were and are of course notable exceptions. It is mentioned here because it may account in part for the neglect of Kierkegaard in the English-speaking world. It should not blind one's eyes to the honest achievements of the Kierkegaardians in making the Danish *Magus des Nordens* accessible in English. Perhaps the best suggestion to the prospective student of the *Stages* would be to read Kierkegaard's *The Point of View* which Lowrie also translated (Oxford, 1939), in which Kierkegaard himself tells the story of his work as an author up to November, 1848. The volume also contains the essays on "The Individual."

The Kierkegaard-renaissance had its origin in post-war Germany when the validity of the entire European cultural tradition was called into question. Barth in theology, Jaspers and Heidegger in philosophy, the Expressionists in the Drama, the Spenglers, the then Thomas Mann, the Nationalists, and a host of Jeremiahs in church and state, united in what can only be called a *Kulturpessimismus*, if not indeed a *Kulturhass*. It was only natural that Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Tolstoi should become the heroes of some, while others turned to men of action like Arminius and Bismarck. It might be added that Adolph Hitler is, without debate, the most famous and successful of all the *Kulturpessimisten*. All *Kulturpessimisten* agree that the cultivation of reason and science since the renaissance is to be charged with the woes of the modern world and that the only way out is a return to some form of irrationalism whether it be will, force, passion, or self-assertion. The theologian Barth and Jaspers and Heidegger among the philosophers found their cue in Kierkegaard.

The fact that scholars of the English-speaking world have hitherto been reluctant to give much consideration to Kierkegaard, even though he had meanwhile been acclaimed both in Spain and France, is by no means due therefore to their obtuseness, as some of the Kierkegaard devotees aver, but rather to the circumstance that the majority of the English-speaking scholars refuse to concede the major premises of the *Kulturpessimismus* out of which the Kierkegaard renaissance grew and which it represents. This, in addition to the mannerisms of the Kierkegaardians mentioned above, accounts not only for the lack of interest in Kierkegaard on the part of Englishmen and Americans, but in part also for the cleavage which has in recent years run through all Western thought and life.

And yet the time seems to have come, now that we have some half-dozen Kierkegaard items and four biographies in English, for our scholars to attempt a critical appraisal of this outstanding nineteenth-century figure and give him his place in history. It will prove a fruitful field. Leaving aside his verbal magic, the wealth of his imagery and the almost baffling amount of learning he has at his disposal, there are many problems which he suggests which might well receive attention. It might not be amiss to suggest a few:

(1) What are the historical sources of Kierkegaard's "indirect communication"? Except for a few paragraphs in Hollander's excellent introduction to his *Selections* (Univ. of Texas Bulletin, No. 2326, 1923) very little has been offered in English on this important phase of Kierkegaard's thought, touching as it does upon his relation both to Plato and to the German Romantics.

(2) There is a rumor that it was William James who urged Swenson to translate Kierkegaard. If it is true, the reason is clear. In modern parlance Kierkegaard was a pluralist, for he believed that there were many disjointed loose ends from which the problem of existence might be approached; he was also something of a pragmatist in his demand that thinking be "existential."

(3) Kierkegaard's thought is orientated upon his opposition to Hegel and the Hegelian system. To begin with he was as much opposed to all systems as for instance Emerson was. He rejected the complicity of evil in good and the mediation of contraries. If William James had read Danish he might have found much grist to his mill in Kierkegaard for his attacks on the Hegelian monism. For Kierkegaard absolute truth was always paradoxical, that is, above and beyond thought and reflection. He rejected the *analogia entis*, which Catholic Kierkegaardians deplore. For this reason he bitterly opposed the established churches whose leaders, like Martensen, sought to harmonize (mediate) Danish culture with truth, truth being for Kierkegaard Apostolic Christianity, while to Martensen it was the hodge-podge of the Danish *Kulturreligion*.

(4) Kierkegaard replaced the Hegelian "mediation" by what he called "the leap" and "the repetition." The paradox being based

on the "infinite qualitative difference between God and man," no amount of thought or reflection or study could possibly bridge the gap. This applied to the transition from the esthetic stages to the ethical stage as well as to the transition from either of the two to the religious stage. States of being (existences) can be reached only by "the leap" which leads to what he called "the repetition." "The leap" is an act of will and passion; the repetition is an inversion of the Greek "recollection" and has some resemblance to what Nietzsche later called the "recurrence" (*Wiederbringung*). Truth then, according to Kierkegaard, would be a sudden simultaneousness or oneness of thought and being which is caught by the "leap" and (re)captured by the repetition. This is the essence of "existential thinking." Its relation to both monism and rationalism is apparent. But what is its relation to similar modes of thought prior to Kierkegaard?

(5) Since Brandes, all writers on Kierkegaard stress the fact that he was a great psychologist, and he *had* an uncanny insight into "the workings of the human heart." Since Hoeffding's *Kierkegaard* (1891) it has been the fashion among Kierkegaardians to say that Kierkegaard was one of the first philosophers to investigate subjective states while until his time thinkers had dealt too exclusively with "the enviroing conditions of life." Swenson repeats the story (*Philosophical Fragments*, Princeton, 1936, p. x). Of course, it all depends upon what is meant by psychology. An investigation of Kirkegaard by a competent psychologist from this point of view would be eminently worth while, although it is clear that Kierkegaard and the Kierkegaardians would have little use for the infinite pains the laboratory psychologist is at to discover how the mind really works. For, according to Kierkegaard, there can be no continuity between anything psychological or biological and the ethical or the religious (i.e., truth), for here "the leap" operates. Can continuity be demonstrated?

(6) Of interest also is Kierkegaard's theory of history. It has definite resemblances to that of all the Romantics ("What is the use of remembering *that* past which cannot become a present?" *Fear and Trembling*, Oxford, 1939, p. 34). Kierkegaard wished to "annihilate" the 1800 years between his time and the time of Christ. Consistent with his theory he asserted that this could be accomplished only by emotion and imagination and passion. Hence he regarded with aversion the labors of "the professors" who sought to "annihilate" the 1800 years in the only way that is possible, namely by patient historical research. What he called Apostolic Christianity in his *definition* probably never existed; but then, like all "prophets," he dealt solely with the question of how a certain point of view could be attained without ever questioning the validity of that point of view.

J. H. GROTH

Seattle, Washington

Tragedy of Destiny. By EDWIN EVERITT WILLIAMS. Editions XVII Siècle. Cambridge, Mass., 1940. Pp. 35. Cloth \$1.50; paper 80 cents.

Because he has found parallels in three major tragedies, *Macbeth*, *Œdipus Tyrannus*, and *Athalie*, which have produced emotional reactions "distinctly similar and appreciably more powerful than those stimulated by other tragedies," Mr. Williams has assigned to the plays the category "tragedy of destiny," and set up certain standards for future classification.

The author realizes at the outset that such classification is purely arbitrary and highly subjective; nevertheless, his arguments are convincing and his conclusions well substantiated. Some of the main parallels in the three tragedies are: the emphasis on the struggle of each protagonist against a foretold destiny; the villainy of the central characters; the links between the individuals' destinies and those of a race or nation. Finally, it is of interest to note that, given the problem of destiny as plot, all three dramatists, Shakespeare, Sophocles, and Racine, produced plays of striking similarities.

In conclusion Mr. Williams raises a question which should prove a good basis for further discussion — "Is tragedy of destiny an extinct literary form, or is it, at least, capable of resurrection?"

LUCY LAWRENCE

University of Washington

The Defence of Good Women. By SIR THOMAS ELYOT. Edited by EDWIN JOHNSTON HOWARD. Oxford, Ohio: The Anchor Press, 1940. Pp. ix+85. \$1.25.

The Defence of Good Women, one of the many sixteenth century discussions of woman's status, is less conventional than the average book of this type. "It is," Mr. Howard says, "as are Elyot's other works, grave, dignified and philosophical; the author strives . . . to present the actual virtues of good women, refraining from mere adulation." For this reason, as well as because it is one of the first English imitations of the Platonic dialogue, the book is well worth reprinting.

A line-for-line and letter-for-letter reprint of the 1540 edition, Mr. Howard's attractive little book, with its brief but interesting introduction and its accurate textual notes and glossary, is a welcome representation of a significant treatise.

Mr. Howard wisely chose to edit the 1540 edition, the only one with the dedication to "Queene Anne . . . wyfe unto Henry the VIII." When, however, he said that this was the first, and his own the third edition of the work, Mr. Howard was evidently not aware that in 1912, Foster Watson, in *Vives and the Renaissance Education*

of *Women*, reprinted the 1545 edition of the *Defence*. Moreover, when he suggested that the book was intended as a wedding gift for Anne, he could not have been familiar with the line from the *Gouvernor*, published in 1531, where Elyot says, "I purpose to make a booke onely for ladies." Mr. Watson thinks that this line, coupled with the fact that in the *Image of Governance*, printed in 1540, Elyot speaks of the book for ladies as already in existence and of the *Dictionary*, published in 1538, as not yet ready, indicates that the *Defence of Women* must have been written between 1531 and 1538.

HELEN ANDREWS KAHIN

University of Washington

The Passionate Pilgrim. By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. The Third Edition, 1612, Reproduced in Facsimile from the Copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library, with an Introduction by HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS. New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, For the Trustees of Amherst College, 1940. Pp. xlii + 137. \$4.00.

Three recent publications have made available all the materials necessary for the study of the curious little miscellany which William Jaggard published, twice before the end of 1599 and again in 1612, under the title of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. In the Variorum edition of Shakespeare's poems (1938), Professor Hyder E. Rollins presented a full account of all that was then known—and more that had been vainly conjectured—about the history of the anthology. In the introduction to the first Folger Shakespeare Library facsimile of *The Passionate Pilgrim* (1939), Dr. Joseph Quincy Adams demonstrated conclusively that certain poems in the Folger's Burton copy of the work constitute a fragment of the first edition, probably printed early in 1599 and hitherto not certainly identified; and that the remaining poems in the Burton copy and all copies of the 1599 octavo hitherto called the "first" edition are actually the second edition. The volume under review, one of the series of Folger Shakespeare Library publications of which Dr. Adams is the general editor, is a facsimile reprint of the third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, published by Jaggard in 1612 with extensive additions and extant in only two copies. The Variorum edition of Shakespeare's poems and the two facsimile reprints of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, taken together, constitute the most thoroughly satisfactory and complete study that Jaggard's little publishing venture has received.

Any doubt as to the need for a facsimile reprint of the third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* is dispelled by the melancholy record of error concerning it; and that record of error, in turn, may be traceable to the fact that the third edition, despite its rarity, has never been separately reprinted or reproduced. To the twenty poems (including only five certainly by Shakespeare) already published, Jaggard added in the third edition nine poems extracted from

Thomas Heywood's *Troia Britanica* (1609). The additions are described on the title-page, below Shakespeare's name: "Where-unto is newly added two Loue-Epistles, the first from *Paris* to *Hellen*, and *Hellens* answers backe againe to *Paris*." Heywood, already at odds with Jaggard, took exception to the ambiguity of the title-page, which might lead people to think that Heywood had misappropriated the poems in *Troia Britanica* and that Shakespeare was now, in 1612, claiming his own. Professor Rollins' introduction records the bewildering variety of statement by Shakespearean editors and commentators as to just what Jaggard took from Heywood. Commonly the title-page is taken at its face value, and only two poems are named; Heywood himself complains only of the appropriation of the two "Loue-Epistles." Actually nine poems in all were taken from *Troia Britanica* and added to the 1612 *Passionate Pilgrim*. In his attempts to lay the numerous errors on this point, Professor Rollins is guilty of one minor injustice. Of the nine Heywood items in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, two (XXIII and XXIV) are about Menelaus, and two (XXVII and XXVIII) are about the Minotaur (*Intro.*, pp. xvi-xvii); in both instances the poems are printed consecutively in *Troia Britanica*, with brief prose interpolations to indicate changes in the source or order of the narratives. Since one could justify calling these selections either two poems or four, Halliwell-Phillips might have been spared a "*sic*" (p. xxiv) for describing the borrowings from *Troia Britanica* as two epistles and five (instead of seven) other poems. He seems to belong in that select company (p. xxiii) who know what they are talking about when they describe the poems taken from Heywood.

The record of past error, unfortunately, extends beyond the misstatement of bibliographical details. Professor Rollins' survey includes also a critical summary of errors of interpretation which have sprung from a disregard of elementary facts concerning the publication of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. The introduction, in part taken over from materials already presented in the Variorum edition of Shakespeare's poems, contains complete bibliographical information about the 1612 edition; a list of variant readings from *Troia Britanica* for the poems taken from that work; a critical review of various opinions concerning Jaggard's responsibility in the matter; and a brief statement of the subsequent history of the 1612 *Passionate Pilgrim*.

Appended to the work are facsimiles from the Bodleian copy, including the original and the revised title-page (without Shakespeare's name), and four pages which are defective in the Folger copy because of worn margins. The clarity and accuracy of an introduction devoted to the ravelling out of weaved-up follies and the painstaking work evident in the excellent reproduction of the text insure the usefulness and desirability of the work for those for whom it is intended—"students of Shakespeare, Thomas Heywood, William Jaggard, and Elizabethan literature in general."

ERNEST A. STRATHMANN

Pomona College

The Judicious Marriage of Mr. Hooker and the Birth of The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. By C. J. Sisson. Cambridge: The University Press, 1940. Pp. 203. \$2.50.

Now set in a more general frame of reference, the material utilized in Professor Sisson's new volume was first presented at the University of Cambridge as the Sandars Lectures in Bibliography in 1938. That material has become the middle section of three: (1) Hooker's marriage, (2) the publication of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, and (3) the authenticity of Hooker's posthumous works. The 111 pages of these three sections are supplemented by four appendices and an index, comprising 92 pages.

Mr. Sisson challenges Izaak Walton's heretofore canonical *Life of Hooker*, 1665. This attack determines the organization of the book, which is a rebuttal of Walton; or, better, a brief for the defense of Hooker and his works (complete with Exhibits A, B, C, and D—the appendices). And although Mr. Sisson professes the kindest of feelings toward his opponent, he nevertheless charges him with inaccuracy, carelessness, and gullibility.

The first section denies that the marriage of the judicious Hooker was injudicious. Walton pictures Joan Churchman as a poverty-stricken shrew who brought Hooker nothing but trouble during his life, remarried within a few months of his death, and allowed his posthumous papers to be tampered with. Actually, says Sisson, there is little or no truth in any of this. Joan Churchman was a good wife, and "the amazing upas-tree of slander recorded in Walton's life" grew from a seed of confusion in the memories of his informants, allied with some ill-will towards Mrs. Hooker and some theological odium. Hooker probably lived in the home of John Churchman, Joan's father, from 1581, when he came to London, until 1595 (when he went to Bishopsbourne), writing in those comfortable surroundings most of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*. So holds Mr. Sisson, at any rate, who also says that the marriage took place not in 1582 but in 1588, and comments that there is no evidence to show that Hooker ever lived at Drayton Beauchamp, where Walton pictures him rocking the cradle when visitors called.

The second section urges that Books I-IV of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* were not published in 1594, as Walton says, but a year earlier. The date is important, in Mr. Sisson's estimation, because he sees the book as a mainstay of the supporters of the Conventicle Act passed in 1593, enforcing conformity. It is in this section particularly that he makes admirable use of the material from a long and complicated series of Chancery suits which he discovered and pieced patiently together. The testimony about the publication of the book, which Mr. Sisson supplements and clarifies with other bibliographical information, provides an invaluable chapter in the history of Elizabethan and Jacobean book-making.

Finally, section three attacks Walton's account of Hooker's manuscripts being meddled with after his death. The manuscripts were carefully preserved, says Mr. Sisson: if perhaps not all that Hooker wrote was printed, at least all that was printed Hooker wrote. According to Mr. Sisson, the innocent Izaak Walton here played into the hands of scheming churchmen who wished to discredit Hooker's positions.

Upon the Lethean shore already lingers the shade of Walton's *Life of Donne*, ferried there by Gosse, Wilson, and Sparrow, trio Charonic. Will Walton's *Life of Hooker* join that other work in the limbo of charming but unimportant antiquarian lives, now that Mr. Sisson has so vigorously attacked its chief reason for continued existence: reputed truth? Only time will tell. Undoubtedly much that he says will stand time's test; undoubtedly our views of Hooker, and of Walton, will have to some extent to be modified. But Mr. Sisson weakens his case by eagerness to prove too much; one gets the fatal feeling that he is more concerned to be victorious than impartial. For instance, as anyone can verify by looking up the *Life of Hooker*, it is hardly fair to Walton to summarize as follows:

Walton's story bids us believe that Hooker, a Fellow of Corpus Christi, came to London in 1581 to preach a sermon at St. Paul's, lodged with Mrs. Churchman for an unknown, but short, time, straightway married Joan Churchman, and returned to Corpus Christi for a further three years at least. It is fantastic. But it is not true.

Neither is it what Walton wrote.

Too much can hardly be said, however, in general admiration of Professor Sisson's work; especially of his masterly marshalling of arguments. He maneuvers them with expert tactical skill, and they descend upon the objective in waves until it is utterly demolished. Yet their march is not heavy, nor tiresome, but varied by humor and enlivened by suspense. The accuracy of his facts is unquestionable, his method of reproducing documents excellent, and on the whole his handsome little volume sets a mark for other practitioners of historical-bibliographical writing to shoot at.

ARTHUR M. COON

Beloit College

Milton's Contemporary Reputation: An Essay together with "A Tentative List of Printed Allusions to Milton, 1641-1674," and facsimile reproductions of five contemporary pamphlets written in answer to Milton. By WILLIAM RILEY PARKER. Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 1940. Pp. ix + 299.

The editor has assembled all the known contemporary printed allusions to Milton, one hundred and thirteen in number, and has re-

produced in facsimile five contemporary pamphlets attacking Milton on one ground or another, namely: *A Modest Confutation*, 1642, a reply on behalf of Bishop Joseph Hall to *Animadversions; An Answer*, 1644, to the first edition of *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*; Filmer's *Observations on Master Milton against Salmasius*, 1652; *The Censure of the Rota*, 1660, on Milton's *Ready and Easy Way*; and L'Estrange's *No Blinde Guides*, 1660. The bibliographical annotation is ample and informing, the introductory comment suggestive. Although most of the material contained in the volume has for some time been accessible to students, it has had to be looked for in scattered places, and Mr. Parker has performed a useful service in bringing it together in such a convenient form.

The evidence provided by contemporary allusions to Milton is chiefly negative in value. It affords practically no support to those who, not content that Milton should have been the great voice of Puritan idealism to later generations, wish to believe that he was also a conspicuous leader of thought to men in his own time. It tells very little about the man himself or about the contemporary reception of those writings of his which were to mean so much to the future. It lets us know little more than that the writings of Milton which chiefly provoked comment in print were the pamphlets on prelacy, marriage and monarchy and that the comments made were for the most part neither friendly nor discriminating. The one considerable exception to this chorus of dispraise was Marvell, writing in 1673. Now obviously the importance of these facts should not be exaggerated, but obviously too it should not be neglected. It must, rather, be weighed carefully in the course of that re-examination and re-appraisal of Milton and of the Puritan age which has been long overdue but which now seems to be going forward. To take note of these allusions, therefore, so disconcerting to the worshipful, to point out clearly how they fail to agree with the traditional romantic view of Milton, even to assemble the lot of them all together between the covers of a well-edited book, is not, in spite of Mr. Parker's misgivings, to fall victim to "the clipping bureau error." Nor can the knowledge of these facts be "sobering" except to those who, in their devotion to the great poet, have drunk too deeply of his indefatigable but not very wise or very critical nineteenth century biography. This is not to speak ungratefully of Masson, whose six fat volumes are still indispensable, and it is not to say that the author of *Areopagitica* was not a very great man or even a man of great importance in his own way in his own time. It is merely to emphasize the need for understanding more precisely what the nature of that importance was. We should value Masson for the things wherein he is valuable, but it is time that students and biographers of Milton realized how far short he came of really connecting the life of his hero with the history,

the relevant history, of the time, how little he understood or was capable of understanding the inner spirit and the moving ideas of the Puritan Revolution. That is to say, it is time we realized that they know little of Milton who know him to the exclusion of the many writers who fought with ideas and words in that troubled age.

This is the consideration with which Mr. Parker finds himself confronted when he undertakes in his introductory essay to comment on the evidence he has assembled relating to Milton's reputation. The essay, I suspect and hope, is a preliminary sketch for a much more extended biographical study, such as its author is in certain important respects well qualified to undertake. He is obviously devoted to Milton. He has a thorough knowledge of the canon and of the known body of biographical and critical opinion, to which he has himself made valuable contributions. His critical insight, well illustrated in these pages by his comment on Milton's prose style, is both just and keen. His essay does not, however, accomplish its essential purpose for the reason, it seems to me, that he has not yet made certain of his attitude toward Milton's time or, consequently, toward Milton as a part of his time. He accepts in principle the view not to be controverted that Milton's contemporary position and influence were not all that romantic fancy pictured, but he does so somewhat ruefully and does not really succeed in establishing a clearer, more positive view. Perhaps his conception of the Puritan age and of the issues over which it fought is still based too closely upon Milton's own writings and upon Masson, with insufficient independent reference to other evidence. One illustration in conclusion must suffice. Mr. Parker is inclined to credit the tradition launched by Toland and accepted by Masson that the licenser Mabbott resigned his post in 1649 because he was persuaded by the arguments against licensing published by Milton in *Areopagitica* four and a half momentous crowded years earlier. There is, of course, no way to prove or disprove such a story, but the biographer of Milton should not fail to observe that Mabbott was not only a licenser but an important journalist, that his newsletter *The Moderate* was the journalistic organ of the Levellers until it was finally for that reason suppressed at the time Mabbott resigned, that the Levellers from 1638 on were determined, vociferous contenders for free speech and a free press, that over a period of years their leader had been whipped, pilloried and jailed for the liberty of unlicensed printing. The real question, it seems to me, is not whether Mabbott remembered *Areopagitica* but what is the relation of the thought of the author of *Areopagitica* to that of Lilburne and the other champions of liberty with whom Mabbott was personally identified.

WILLIAM HALLER

The Huntington Library

The Unhappy Favourite or The Earl of Essex. By JOHN BANKS.
Edited by THOMAS MARSHALL HOWE BLAIR. Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. vii + 143.

The main purpose of Mr. Blair's edition of John Banks's tragedy *The Unhappy Favourite or The Earl of Essex* is, as the editor states, "to make available a modern reprint of a good, representative Restoration play." This purpose is most admirably fulfilled in a photo-offset reproduction of the first quarto, accompanied by introductory material and explanatory notes on the text of the play.

Beginning with a short sketch of Banks's life, new details of which are assembled in print for the first time, Mr. Blair discusses Banks's works in connection with heroic drama and subsequent she-tragedy; comments briefly upon the plot of *The Unhappy Favourite*; finds the main source of the play in a novel, *The Secret History of the most Renowned Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex*; and analyses the famous Elizabeth and Essex ring episode, which in 1682 had apparently become fixed by tradition. This introduction, though discursive, emphasizes the need for judging Banks in relation to trends in late Restoration drama, which as the century came to a close began to exhibit feminine styles.

Suggestions that Banks be seen in proper perspective, particularly since his works have been roundly condemned, appear eminently sound, though Mr. Blair's hope of placing the dramatist upon modern boards arises from unfounded enthusiasm. Without doubt this writer of heroics and she-tragedy far too long has been deemed "a dreary and illiterate writer, whose blank verse is execrable"¹ (words which summarize concisely the critical consensus²); and perhaps his plays, despite popular applause they received during the late Restoration period, justly merit such phrases. Any sensitive reader must admit that *The Unhappy Favourite* often rants with fustian and bombast. Yet historically Banks deserves much more attention than he has hitherto been given, not only, as Mr. Blair contends, because he first treated dramatically the Elizabeth-Essex theme in English, which in itself is a sort of distinction, or because he set the stage for she-tragedy, a new type of drama destined to become important later in the hands of sentimental playwrights, but because he emphasized, it might be added, tearful scenes and the soft heart of woman, thereby reflecting a change coming over English thought so important that tragedy in the Shakespearean sense could no longer be written.

This reflection of growing sentimentality becomes, even more than Mr. Blair indicates, Banks's main bid for scholarly study. Earlier than his dramatic contemporaries, this dramatist, sensing a change of values in human relations, attempted with a pen none

¹ See *DNB*.

² See page 10 of Blair's edition.

too skillful to articulate "feeling" and "heart." Indeed, Richard Steele in a *Tatler* paper of 1709 suggests this very point as he passes judgment upon *The Deserving Favourite*, condemning the play for not possessing "one good line" but nevertheless praising it for drawing "tears" and moving the souls of untutored folk. Nicholas Rowe, a few years later, expressed with more skill the new sentimentality, which, backed philosophically by Shaftesbury and Jean Jacques Rousseau, came to a triumphant climax in the Romantic Movement. John Banks's contribution to this growing trend, however slight, demands consideration of both dramatic and historical scholars.

Mr. Blair's edition, then, more than fulfils its purpose of bringing before students a readable text of a representative Restoration play; it places new significance upon a much-neglected playwright, a careful study of whose plays may illuminate greatly English life and thought toward the end of the seventeenth century.

G. F. SENSABAUGH

Stanford University

Charles Sackville, Sixth Earl of Dorset. By BRICE HARRIS. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1940. Pp. 269. \$3.00.

Charles Sackville's name is familiar to many, his life to few. The most casual reader of Restoration poetry knows his ballad "To all you Ladies now on land" as one of the poems of the period most frequently reprinted in anthologies. The student of Dryden knows that in the "Essay of Dramatick Poesie" Eugenius, the defender of the moderns, is modelled after Dorset. And to the historian the name is associated with the first Lord Chamberlain in the reign of William and Mary. But in spite of these details which suggest a full life that touches the period at many points, a detailed and exhaustive life of the man has never before been undertaken.

The task has now been undertaken and completed by Mr. Brice Harris, and the result is a book that has added new material, corrected erroneous stories, and clarified many points concerning Dorset's life and accomplishments. In the compilation Mr. Harris has been extremely thorough. His researches have taken him from London to Pasadena, and it is doubtful if he has overlooked much material of any value that might illuminate his subject. The result will interest all students of the period, for Dorset's activities mirrored the extremes of life in the second half of the seventeenth century. He was a wit, playboy, courtier, statesman, and poet. As the roistering Lord Buckhurst he is known as the intimate of Charles II, Rochester, Etherege, and Sedley. As the Earl of Dorset he is best remembered for the sober later years when, as Lord

Chamberlain, he was hailed as one of the great literary patrons of his time, the encourager of Dryden, Congreve, Rymer, Dennis, and D'Urfey.

Certain minor points in Mr. Harris's book invite questioning. First, is the argument that the character of Dorimant is a combination of Rochester and Dorset. The most serious objection that stands in the way of this theory is the fact that while there is no dearth of contemporary recognition that Rochester served as a model for Etherege, not a word indicates that Dorset's friends recognized him as a possible prototype. Dennis, Oldys, and Saint Eyremont connected Rochester with Dorimant. Dean Lockier identified Etherege and Dorimant. The Dorset-Dorimant identification, however, was not given public currency until 1785, when it was made—as Mr. Harris is careful to point out—by Dorset's grandson. If it existed before that time, we have no evidence that it was anything other than a story current in the Sackville family itself. Contemporary evidence outweighs later ascriptions. To this reviewer Professor Brett-Smith's conclusion must still stand: that in spite of the fact that Rochester clearly served as a model, Etherege actually "made his characters no mere copies of personal idiosyncrasies, but true representatives of manners" in the period. (*The Dramatic Works of Sir George Etherege*, ed. H. F. B. Brett-Smith [Boston and New York, 1927], I, xxiv.)

Second, one wishes that in his chapter on Dorset's public life there were some indication given whether the Lord Chamberlain used his patronage for the purpose of building up a party machine. We know that Dorset's protégé, Charles Montagu, dispensed at least part of his patronage to men who were useful in the Whig cause. It would be interesting to know whether Montagu's patron ever utilized the system for similar political purposes, and if so, to what lengths he went.

Apropos of Charles Montagu, a few points require correction. First, Mr. Harris evidently accepts the contemporary story that Dorset raised the impecunious Montagu "from an unknown poet to an imposing statesman" (p. 148). While it is true that Dorset was Montagu's patron and that he pushed him, Montagu came to court with standing and prestige in his own right. As a boy he lived at Manchester House (directly next to Dorset House) with his relatives, the Manchesters. The Manchesters were strong Whigs, prominent at court, and had many connections. Evidence suggests that Montagu, who had grown up on terms of intimacy with his second cousin Charles Montagu, later the fourth Earl of Manchester and Ambassador to France, was befriended by Dorset not only because of the verses he contributed to *Moetissimae ac Laetissimae Academiae Cantabrigiensis Affectus* . . . , but because of his family's standing and position. Also, it should be observed that although Montagu is usually regarded as a leader of "the glamorous patronage . . . in Augustan days" (p. 174), the high point of his

patronage as far as dedications are concerned was in the years 1696-97. A partial check of dedications to Montagu against Mr. Harris's very helpful checklist of dedications to Dorset shows that in 1696 Montagu and Dorset each received three; but in the next year Montagu stood five to Dorset's two.

One more point suggests itself. Mr. Harris treats Dorset's well-known reformation of character (a change which took place in 1685 when he was forty-two years old) as an isolated phenomenon. But there is an interesting coincidence to be noted here: a similar change had already taken place in Dorset's two friends, Rochester and Sedley. In 1679 Rochester had begun his discussions on "*Morality, Natural Religion and Revealed Religion*, Christianity in particular" (Gilbert Burnet, *Some Passages Of the Life and Death Of the Right Honourable John Earl of Rochester*, . . . [London, 1680], p. 35). At about the same time Sedley experienced the change of heart that culminated in his religious conversion in 1686. It is easy to argue that these changes resulted from debility, advancing age, or the imminence of death. But is not another interpretation possible? Can it not be that here we have premonitory evidence of a moral current that was already making itself felt in English thought, a change that was given its most sensational expression in the outburst precipitated by Jeremy Collier's *Short View*? The shift in public attitude was in force before the explosion of Collier. May not one plausibly argue that the reformations of Dorset and his friends were but early indications of its force?

But this is not a serious criticism of Mr. Harris's book. His study of Dorset has long been needed. Coming as it does at a time when interest in studies of Restoration is waxing mightily, the results of his researches will be valuable to a large number of scholars.

HELENE MAXWELL HOOKER

Westwood, Los Angeles

Jonathan Swift and Women. By JOSEPH MANCH. University of Buffalo Studies, Vol. XVI, No. 4, February, 1941. Pp. 135-214. 50 cents.

This study of "Swift's attitude toward women, as exemplified in his life and expressed in his writings" is a comprehensive, sensible and welcome survey. Writers have frequently noted the contributions of Defoe and Steele to the improvement of the status of women, but except for a few *obiter dicta* nothing has been said about Swift's aid to this same cause. Biographers of Swift have all too frequently treated him as a misogynist, or at best have half-heartedly defended him against the charge that he was one. Mr. Manch has in this monograph pretty well demonstrated that Swift was "woman's friend and champion" and that those who do not see this have confused "his methods with his aims."

I doubt that the "Blue Stockings" should be credited with bringing about as great a change in the matter of women's education as Mr. Manch appears to believe. In this connection it seems to me that far too little credit has been given to the Lockean contribution to the upsetting of the belief that "Men . . . had the larger share of *Reason* bestow'd upon them." On the whole this master's thesis is an able piece of work in spite of several minor matters of form and content to which I might take exception.

DONALD CORNU

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Nineteenth-Century Studies. Collected and edited by HERBERT DAVIS, WILLIAM C. DEVANE, and R. C. BALD. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1940. Pp. 303.

These essays on nineteenth-century writers by members of the Cornell English department are of a wide range of interest and a uniformly high level of scholarly competence. Professor Bald reconsiders two questions concerning Coleridge's great poems from the *annus mirabilis*. He shows good reason to think that, in making use of stuff from his reading, the poet's mental process was not so completely unconscious as Lowes believes; his reading was deliberately undertaken in the interest of poetic creation. Mr. Bald also considers it probable that, while none of these poems was actually written in an opium dream, the imaginative processes were probably set going in each case by images and states of mind induced by some indulgence in opium. Professor Broughton contributes interesting letters mostly by or about Coleridge from manuscripts in the Cornell Wordsworth Collection. Having to do with Coleridge's literary projects and methods of composition, and his relations with his sons, with Thomas Allsop and the Gilmans, they serve to round out that picture of the poet as a confirmed neurotic which scholars have been so reluctant to accept.

Mr. Wiener traces the literary sources of Byron's "Turkish tales," and shows the care taken by Byron in filling in the background of custom and *décor*. Byron wrote to Murray: "I don't care a lump of sugar for my *poetry*; but for my *costume*, and my *correctness* on those points . . . I will combat lustily." This may explain why, though his contemporaries were so fond, in these oriental tales, of both his costume and his poetry, we have lost interest in both of them. Mr. Moore studies Carlyle's early experiments in fiction in "Cruthers and Jonson," *Wotton Reinfred*, and *Sartor Resartus*; he distinguishes the elements of skill in Carlyle's performance and traces the course of his conversion to history as the more authentic carrier of philosophic truth. His repudiation of fiction did not involve a condemnation of imaginative detail as historical filler or the

use of fictitious devices (like Teufelsdröckh) to facilitate the teaching of truth. Dean DeVane offers a most ingenious study of Browning's preoccupation with the Andromeda myth; and along with that an account of the conflict in Browning between his love for Greek myth and his evangelical disparagement of it as spiritually unfruitful. It was, he shows, the Greek world that won out, at least imaginatively.

Mr. Curtin, in a judicious and substantial essay, traces the effects of Ruskin's aesthetic theories in social reform both in his own case and in that of such important disciples as William Morris, Patrick Geddes, and John A. Hobson. From this discriminating analysis of Ruskin's positions in the field of economic thought and of his continuing strong influence on more hard-headed thinkers than himself, Ruskin emerges very honorably indeed. In spite of his dogmatism and his sentimental aberrations, Ruskin is at length coming to be recognized as one of the most practically effective of Victorian writers. Mr. Maurer continues the subject of Ruskin's influence in a paper on Morris and the poetry of escape. The term "escape" is taken from a favorable comment by Pater, and is shown to apply particularly to *The Earthly Paradise*, which made its wide appeal to a public weary of contemporary subjects and problems. Morris later, in his socialistic writings, repudiated the escapism of his early work; but in his consistent preference of the medieval to the contemporary scene, in his dislike for realism, he continued to carry out the spirit of Arnold's famous Preface of 1853. Mr. Bissell contributes an illuminating interpretation of *The Way of All Flesh* in the light of Butler's constructive philosophy in (mainly) *Life and Habit*. He acknowledges that Butler failed to carry out very successfully his project of embodying his philosophy in his fable. But his essay will serve to correct the customary and natural view of *The Way of All Flesh* as mainly intended to satirize Victorian family life and education.

There is no one of these essays that does not add to our knowledge of its subject, and few of them which do not point the way to further study. Mr. Moore presumably has it in mind at some later time to illustrate Carlyle's generous use of the techniques of fiction in *The French Revolution* and other historical writings. The letters and notebooks of Coleridge remind one that a really searching study of the poet's psychology has yet to be made. Perhaps the most promising point of departure for such a study is a passage quoted by Mr. Bald, in which Coleridge says: "I have been always preyed on by some Dread, and perhaps all my faulty actions have been the consequences of some Dread or other in my mind." It would, of course, take one well versed in the ways of the unconscious to trace back this clue far beyond opium and rationalization into the secret sources of the poet's cloudy and tortured being.

JOSEPH WARREN BEACH

University of Minnesota

Anthony Trollope's England. By JOHN HAZARD WILDMAN. Menasha, Wisconsin: The George Banta Publishing Co., 1940. Pp. 135.

Dr. Wildman's title is misleading, for he is concerned with only a part of Trollope's England. On page one he narrows his scope to "a study of Victorian England as presented in the Barchester novels of Anthony Trollope." Nor is it exactly that. Actually, the author discusses certain types of characters (the clerics, the landed gentry, the nobles, the industrialists, and the heroines) in a selection of novels between *The Macdermots of Ballycloran* (1847) and *The Last Chronicle of Barset* (1867).

But one quarrels with Dr. Wildman not because his Barchester has curiously elastic boundaries, but rather because it has any boundaries at all. The defect of this book, and it is a serious one, is that the author totally ignores everything Trollope wrote after 1867. One cannot absolve him on the familiar ground that he did not attempt a complete study. Because it is not complete, the conclusions are tentative and subject to revision in the light of Trollope's later work. The value of such a fragmentary study must be virtually negligible. What justification can there be, for example, to write a chapter on "The World of Commerce" of "Trollope's England" with no reference to the Parliamentary novels? The author is forced to admit that "Trollope . . . gives a curiously small amount of space to these matters in the novels of his Barchester period." But "these matters" are the central interest of the Parliamentary novels. Such a chapter, then, should be either abandoned or developed with reference to the obvious materials. The essential point is that the distinction between the novels written before and after 1867 is purely arbitrary and has no valid basis in Trollope's intellectual or artistic development. To illustrate further, what can be said for the chapter on Trollope's clerics, which mentions neither *The Vicar of Bullhampton* nor the *Clergymen of the Church of England*?

Furthermore, Dr. Wildman is vulnerable to criticism on technical grounds. He is given to unsupported generalization, and his documentation is weak throughout. He is content to re-quote from secondary sources easily accessible primary material, and his references are drawn from an odd assortment of editions. His failure to give the date of magazine articles and his failure to set off from the text long quotations are examples of trifling but nevertheless real annoyances. More important, he is led by an uncritical enthusiasm to such statements as that the Trollope novel is "characterized by an artistically satisfying economy in its length," and that "Trollope never appears limited by his attitude [toward love], for the simple reason that he finds such very varied material and so many different situations within the limits of the definition." The first assertion is so easily disproved as to make comment superogatory; and as for the second, in novel after novel the identical situation is set up, the lovers suffer the same familiar vicissitudes, and the opposing forces are at last resolved according to a monotonous pattern.

I do not wish to be unduly severe with this book, for a re-examination of Trollope's career and a re-evaluation of his genius is a worthy subject. There has been for some time a definite need for a thorough-going study. Mr. Michael Sadleir's admirable volume is no more than it purports to be: a commentary. But Dr. Wildman adds little or nothing. He would have been better advised to withhold his thesis material from publication until he had incorporated pertinent references from Trollope's later novels.

BRADFORD A. BOOTH

University of California at Los Angeles

The Ordeal of Bridget Elia, A Chronicle of the Lambs. By ERNEST C. ROSS. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940. Pp. xiv + 232. \$2.50.

The main title of Professor Ross's book shows the influence of the "New Biography"; the sub-title is conservative, old-fashioned, scholarly, "safe." It is the sub-title which fairly represents the study. The "New Biography" raises its impertinent head only once, at the end of Chapter II:

Within a few moments [of the killing of Mrs. Lamb by her daughter] Charles came home, and the first thing he did was to go up to Mary and take the knife out of her hand.

With that act, and from that moment, he became the head of the house.

In *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, Miss Cather was telling us some years ago, she tried to write "something without accent." Remembering that in old chronicles "the martyrdoms of the saints are no more dwelt upon than are the trivial incidents of their lives," she made it her aim "not to hold the note, not to use an incident for all there is in it—but to touch and pass on." Whether, like Miss Cather, Mr. Ross has been influenced by *The Golden Legend* and the frescoes of Puvis de Chavannes, I have no idea, but he has certainly written "something without accent." He would undramatize the appalling circumstances of Mrs. Lamb's death and desentimentalize the "double singleness" of Charles' and Mary's life together. They tried each other, he thinks, more than the sentimentalists are willing to admit, and the brother's celibacy was due not wholly to devotion to his sister but partly to the fact that he never found a woman who was willing to have him. Mary was a stabilizing influence upon him as well as a burden, and the years she spent without him did not pass in utter darkness. To bring out all these things, Mr. Ross simply presents "the knowable facts in their chronological order, but without pleading a case." The narrative rests on the writings of the Lambs themselves, particularly their letters, on biog-

raphies and books containing reminiscences of them and their friends, and, most importantly, on the Crabb Robinson papers in Dr. Williams' Library, London. On this last basis, Mr. Ross has described, for the first time, the life of Mary Lamb after her brother's death.

One feels that the author achieved exactly what he set out to do, yet one cannot but regret the austerity of his biographical ideal. There is too much "Chronicle": too many pages are devoted to recording merely where the Lambs went, who came to visit them, and how Charles, having been drunk last night, got drunk again tonight. Nobody would get any idea of the charm of Lamb from reading this book. Surely one need not ask for "fictionized biography" because one asks for interpretation. There is a great storehouse of color and humanity in the Lamb letters, as well as a great many "facts," and even the scholarly biographer may legitimately draw upon it. Mr. Ross's general failure to do so is all the more regrettable because when he does permit himself criticism and interpretation he is excellent; his analysis of the *Tales from Shakespeare* is a case in point.

EDWARD WAGENKNECHT

University of Washington

The Cyclical Method of Composition in Gottfried Keller's "Sinngedicht." By PRISCILLA M. KRAMER. New York, 1939. Pp. vii + 318. Ottendorfer Memorial Fellowship Series of Germanic Monographs, No. 26.

The problem Dr. Kramer has set herself is to prove that Keller employed the cyclical method in composing the *Sinngedicht*, a work which occupied Keller's attention from 1851 to 1880. When the author uses the word "cyclical" or when she speaks of Keller's "cyclical habits of mind," she does not use the term loosely, as do some who merely mean to say that Gottfried Keller was fond of writing collections of stories held together by a covering title or within a "frame." She uses the term "cycle" in its strictest sense as "a course of operations returning into itself" (p. 4). This is to say that Keller's *Sinngedicht*, a collection of tales (the subtitle is simply *Novellen*) held together or "framed" by the story of Lucie and Reinhart, is a carefully built organic unit, the separable parts of which are in a functional relationship to each other and to the whole. The cycle is set in motion by Logau's epigram, the problems presented by it are revolved in the subsidiary stories, the personal experiment of Reinhart is discreetly held in the background until it returns in fulfillment at the end.

To visualize the "cyclical method" more concretely, the author offers a diagram of wheels within wheels to illustrate her chief ar-

gument, namely, that the seven subsidiary stories of the *Sinngedicht* are not strung together in rosary fashion but form a unified, organic structure. An outer circle represents the progress in the relationship of Reinhart and Lucie. The stories told by them (except the one by the uncle) are indicated by smaller rings tangent internally to the outer circle and intersecting or interlocking with one another. They are, moreover, tangent to a central circle, the hub and core of the whole cyclical arrangement. There are two more lines concentric with the outer and the inner circle, intersecting the seven interlocking rings. These are meant to represent the Circle of Marriage and the Circle of Problems Connected with Nature and Culture which, together with the hub representing the Circle of Personality, form the first of the three chapters into which the monograph is divided.

The *Sinngedicht*, then, begins and proceeds at the periphery, performing in its progress seven inward turning loops each of which intersects the circle of marriage, the circle of nature and culture and at its lowest or innermost point is tangent to the circle of personality.

Part II of the monograph, "The Cyclical Method of Handling Motifs," deals with the emotional reactions specified in the epigram and, by implication, with the symbolical use of "Light." For each of these part-problems Dr. Kramer searches the seven stories in their normal sequence gathering in every bit of discoverable evidence to prove her points. Whatever elements of a work of art may be expressed in conceptual terms, she utilizes. In doing this, she has also made copious and judicious use of older critical materials. Only in the third chapter, where she deals with the "Cyclical Method of Verbal Expression," i.e., the minor cycles, does iteration become progressively tiresome. This is due undoubtedly to the subject of the monograph itself for just as Keller is viewed as using the cyclical method to throw light on his subject from every conceivable angle so also Dr. Kramer drives home her points by repetition.

The printing has been done with care. Only two misprints were noted: *not* (p. 177) for *nor*, and *Weibsanstalt* (p. 269) for *Weibsgestalt*.

MAX SCHERTEL

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The Artist in Modern German Drama. By RALPH STOKES COLLINS. Doctor's dissertation, Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, 1940. Pp. v + 135.

This is not the first piece of scholarship in the field of Germanic literature to deal with the artists' own overt artistic contributions to a definition of themselves. Its distinction in its field is its concen-

tration upon a period when artistic egocentricity attained truly pathological proportions and thus yields the doctoral analyst so generous a supply of cases upon which to exercise himself. As stated in the introduction, "it is the purpose of this investigation to study the artist figures in modern German drama since 1890 from the standpoint of individual authors, of literary movements and of recurrent motifs. Such an analysis will, it is hoped, offer a greater insight into the development and trends of modern German drama." The book maintains throughout a consistent relevancy to this stated purpose.

The relative simplicity of pattern to which the author succeeds in reducing his embarrassment of riches in "individual authors, literary movements and recurrent motifs" is a tribute to his architectural skill. The procedure which he follows in dealing with the individual items from chapter to chapter seems to the present reviewer a thoroughly sound and helpful one. First the general background as revealed in the critical and journalistic theorizings of the period is briefly sketched, then the cases are presented where these theorizings become dramatic flesh upon the boards; abundant illustrative quotations from the dramas reassert and reinforce the mostly thoroughly sound analyses and conclusions.

It is in certain matters of stylistic details that the author shows himself somewhat less an artist. Word and phrase are not always felicitously chosen, syntax occasionally strays off perilously close to the border of an unliterary no-man's land and in one instance bogs down into downright unintelligibility. (Page 45: "The same problem appears in *Die Frau mit dem Dolche*, in tragic and grotesque aspects, but with an affirmation of the prerogatives of art from the subject of exploitation.") There are also here and there uncertainties in the punctuation; a more general use of a colon instead of a period before the quotations would have aided in co-ordinating the quotations with the text. For those who spell it *wierd* (p. 97), or have moments of hesitation about the number of l's in *fulfilment* this spelling-book slave of a reviewer has a brotherly affection.

A substantial part of the book is made up of illustrative quotations; as a matter of fact, the book comes pretty close to being a sort of anthology of certain representative writings of the period, and this is perhaps the best and most useful feature of it. Obviously it is desirable to have these quotations in the original. Stylistic integrity would be served if the author's text were in the same language. To turn the text into German would in this case certainly be an easier task than to give an adequate English rendering of the quotations.

EDWARD F. HAUCH

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The Works of Guillaume De Salluste Sieur Du Bartas, Vol. III. Edited by U. T. HOLMES, JR., C. LYONS, and R. W. LINKER. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940. Pp. 576.

For a number of years students of the late Renaissance in France, and of Du Bartas in particular, have been hampered by the lack of a modern edition of the works of the Gascon poet. To them and to their colleagues who are interested in the influence which Du Bartas exerted in English literature, the present edition, now brought to a successful conclusion with the publication of the third and final volume, is an important and useful tool. In devoting themselves to this work Professor Holmes and his associates have done scholars a real service.

Volume III follows in typography and format the first two volumes published in 1935 and 1939. It contains the long *Seconde Semaine*, and a section of *Miscellanea* which includes the *Accueil de la reine de Navarre*, *Les Neuf Muses Pyrénées*, *L'Hymne de la Paix*, *La Cantique d'Yvry*, *La Lépanthe* (translated from the English of James VI of Scotland) and various minor lyrics. In addition, Professor Holmes has included in an appendix a brief summary of G. C. Taylor's *Milton's Use of Du Bartas*, and of an unpublished dissertation (North Carolina) by W. R. Abbot. Finally there are a list of additions and emendations to volumes I and II, a glossary of the more unusual words in the text, and a bibliography.

The text is amply supplemented by notes and comments by the editors. Professor Holmes has traced and indicated the sources of Du Bartas' scientific and historical information and has supplied useful English translations of many of the unusual technical or archaic terms used by the poet. These notes are of course invaluable to the general reader to whom the English terms and *a fortiori* the French terms are unfamiliar.

However, some of the foot-note translations seem unnecessary, and one wonders what criterion the editors used in determining what words to translate. If they had in mind the convenience of readers who know little modern French, they have not gone far enough. On the other hand, if the reader is supposed to know modern French, many notes are superfluous. *Escueil* is translated several times "rock," but this word is common and it certainly is clear in the context.¹ In other cases words are translated in their figurative meaning, thus spoiling the effect of the metaphor. To cite one example: *canoné* is translated "thundered" in *Eden* 299.²

There are also some curious inconsistencies in these translations. *Piolé* is translated "spotted" at *Fur.* 178 and *Colonies* 726, but

¹ *Fur.* 86, etc. (References are to lines of text and corresponding notes.) Similarly *pierre ponce* (*Fur.* 118); *meure* (*Artif.* 77); *lougarou* (*Colonies* 564); *phare* (*Colomnes* 25); *moyeu* (*ibid.*, 179). For some of these it would have been enough to indicate the modern spelling, e.g., *mûre*, *loupgarou*.

² "Le ciel n'avoit encor sur nos chefs canoné."

there is no translation given for it in *Loy* 66 nor *Arche* 441 where its use in the expression *arc piolé* "rainbow" is rather unusual. In *Fur.* 718 *bouquins* is given "lecherous" but in *Déc.* 882, in an exactly parallel passage, it is translated "lechers." In both cases the word in question is a noun used as an adjective—a common procedure with Du Bartas. In *Arche* 386 and 391 the editors explain the terms *douce Cyprine* and *baiser meslé* as "orthodox mating" and "hybrid breeding." Two similar terms in *Vocation* 949 ff. would seem to require notes as well: *cupidon vulgaire* [normal sexual relations], *sterille Cypris* [sodomy]. The note given (*Cypris*, "love") is not adequate. The word *tourneboulé* is commented on in *Loy* 894, but not at the place of its first occurrence, *Arche* 514. It would have been preferable to include all the information relating to *mumie* (or *momie*) in the note to *Eden* 197-8, rather than part there and part in the note to *Capitaines* 1029.

These matters are relatively unimportant, however. There are two or three notes which are incorrect, and several which are open to discussion, or for which a possibly better translation could be suggested. In the note to *Arche* 53-4, *le miel charme-soucy* is translated "honeybee," and *disert* "thirsty." Their true meaning is clear if the passage in which they occur is correctly read. *Le miel charme-soucy* is a figurative expression for "eloquence," and *disert* has its usual meaning of "eloquent." The passage may be paraphrased: Noah does not spend his time in the Ark in games or in idle speech, but rather, just as in the hot months the softly-falling rain makes the fields green and the flowers blossom, thus the care-banishing honey which sweetly distills from his [Noah's] eloquent mouth reanimates his family, and so forth.

The reviewer has not been able to compare in detail the present text with earlier ones. But there are several places where other editions would undoubtedly have given better readings. For example, in the note to *Trophées* 320, "La pluye pisse loin du tyran l'ame rouge," Holmes writes: "This is a very strange metaphor—the blood, pouring forth like rain, pours out the tyrant's soul. And the metaphor is continued in the following lines by reference to a water trough." The strange metaphor would have disappeared entirely if the correct reading *La playe* (to be found in the Chouët, 1608 edition) had been substituted for *La pluye*. The reference to a water trough is simply a comparison. The blood spurts from the wound like water from *le fendu tuyeau*. *L'ame rouge* is not the tyrant's soul, but his blood. *L'ame cramoisine* had already been noted as "blood" in *Vocation* 705. Possibly further study of variants would have improved readings such as *cambrillé* (*Trophées* 806). The word appears as *chambrillé* in both *Cap.* 334 and *Trophées* 480. *Cra-craillant* (Chouët, 1608) might have been indicated as a variant for *gra-graillant* (*Schisme* 250). *Retouille* would be a better reading for *retouille* (*Déc.* 659 text and note). *Boubordonne* (*Déc.* 680) is corrected to *boubourdonne* in later editions.

In other notes the information given is open to question. For example in his note to *Imp.* 431 Holmes says: "Literally the *surgeon* is a tender shoot." But Du Bartas uses the word throughout his work, literally or figuratively, in its more usual meaning of fountain or spring, and there is no indication here to show that "tender shoot" is intended. In a note to *Imp.* 12, the editor says that "*bourgeois* is *bas style* in so lofty an expression." This would be true in modern usage, but not in the sixteenth century when the etymological significance was felt rather than its later sociological one. In commenting upon the opening lines of *Artifices* the editors have apparently not observed that lines 1-34 are repeated word for word (with slight changes in lines 20 and 21) at the beginning of the *Hymne de la Paix*. In the note to *Artif.* 27, *Monsieur* is identified as "Henry I, duke of Guise"; in the *Hymne*, 27, he is identified as the duc d'Alençon, brother of Henri III. The following lines make it clear that the latter is the correct interpretation, and indeed it would be difficult to understand how *Monsieur*, the traditional title of the brother of the king, could ever refer to Henri de Guise. In the note to *Colomnes* 658 it is stated that the usual meaning of *cotter* (*coter*) is to help. But the usual meaning is to note, indicate, mark, and it is in this sense that the word is used (cf. *Dict. gén.* and Godefroy). *Trecté* is translated "when used" (*Pères* 102). Where did Holmes find this meaning? The word is lacking in all the dictionaries, and this does not seem to be a satisfactory explanation of it.³ "Struggled" would perhaps be a better translation for *ahanné* (*Loy* 241) than "sighed." Similarly, the usual meaning of *vaquer à*, "s'occuper à" would fit the context of *Loy* 262 better than "is intent upon." *Rouvre* (*Cap.* 195) is still in use for "white oak." The *Dictionnaire général* refers to R. Estienne and Olivier de Serres. *Longs-bois* (*ibid.*, 464) are pikes rather than bows (cf. Littré, *s. v. bois*, 10). *Courre Pesguillette* (*Déc.* 889) is stronger in meaning than "suffer indignity from every man." Godefroy, *Complément* cites Estienne Pasquier: "Nous disons qu'une femme court l'esguillette, lorsque elle prostitue son corps à l'abandon de chacun."

The editors make no comment upon the passage in which Du Bartas describes the "chesnons" which link the golden tongue of the statue of Eloquence to the ears of the hearers (*Bab.* 537-40). They might have referred here to the *Ion* of Plato and to Ronsard, *Ode à Michel de l'Hospital*, which may be a direct source for this allusion.

The present volume has been carefully proofread, but a few errors remain. *Bab.* 534, note, read 533 and 534. *Colonies* 674, note, insert comma after *nourrissent*. *Loy* 1137, note, for *Tis* read *'Tis*. *Trophées* 387, note, "The Dorian [mode] was plaintiff" (*sic!*); read *plaintive*. *Arche* 537, text, for *Rien* read *Rient*. *Schisme* 490, note, for Harold Cherniss read Harold Cherniss. *Déc.* 630, note, for *rebourse* read *rebrousse*.

³ Perhaps this word is related to *tractance* < *tractare* (malmener) (cf. Godefroy). Cf. also Lucretius, 3, 889, *Malis morsuque ferarum tractari*.

All in all, these errors detract very little from the value of the text. It is to be hoped that with this tool at their disposal scholars will study Du Bartas more closely. Perhaps as a result of this renewed study he will come to be more widely recognized than he has been in the past as one of the most interesting, original, and even influential figures of the French Renaissance. If this should be the case, Professor Holmes will have been largely responsible for it.

A. EMERSON CREORE

University of Washington

Ronsard, Prince of Poets. By MORRIS BISHOP. New York: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. 253.

Professor Bishop has done justice to all the aspects of Ronsard's genius in a charming book which will most certainly appeal to the general public. Historical tableaux lend much reality to the biography, and he has pictured some interesting customs in high relief. For instance, we can imagine how the twenty beautiful maids of honor employed at Catherine de Medici's court educated the unpolished young courtiers "in good manners," such as to shield their mouth when spitting on the floor; not to scratch and fidget, but to nip a flea or louse without ostentation. The author holds the interest of the reader by having the characters deliver vivid speeches and by interspersing his narrative with much of Ronsard's sensuousness: Professor Bishop's winks and smiles only half veil what Ronsard uncovers. The whole is shrouded in mists of the colors Ronsard loved: milk, rose, blue, yellow, in a distinctly *rocaille* manner. Although the author has not laid claim to enrich our fund of literary judgments concerning Ronsard, students will probably give him credit for his excellent translations which blend well with the narrative and do justice to the original text.

The book contributes something to cultural history, thanks to the deft artistry of the author, which picks out the *fait saillant* and makes the reader visualize the gestures, the *elegance* of the period: the gentlemen "wore, at a becoming angle, coquettish velvet caps." The student of literature will read with interest that Ronsard, without Peletier, would have perhaps written only neo-Latin verse. This statement is supported by a good deal of evidence.

JEAN DAVID

University of Washington

La Critique Philosophique de Pascal au XVII^e siècle. By DAVID FINCH. Privately printed, 1940. Pp. 84.

The author of this book has well shown that the refutation of Pascal was a constant preoccupation with the Encyclopedists. His plan is neat. Each chapter deals first with an opponent of Pascal,

then with the replies made to him by the partisans of the 17th century philosopher. Voltaire, Diderot, d'Alembert and Condorcet are studied in this form.

The general conclusion is somewhat too brief. It might well have recalled in part the conclusions of each chapter. Instead it merely states the characteristics of the Encyclopedists: optimism, confidence in reason, deistic belief and respect for positive science, but does not indicate their respective merits. It would have been well, for instance, to remind the reader that Condorcet synthesized the criticisms of his predecessors (p. 72) by defending the Cartesian method as the only one fitted for him who tries to find the truth in all domains; also that Condorcet, as contrasted with Voltaire, did not deny Pascal's dualistic conception of man's greatness and misery, but believed it could be explained by purely natural causes, thus still sharing Voltaire's "naturalism." Moreover the author, in his general conclusion, omits to characterize the answers made to the Encyclopedists. The conclusion speaks also of the "defender of tradition," who resisted the "new ideas" represented by the Encyclopedists. It would have been well to qualify the word "new" and, to that purpose, remind the reader of the following passage of p. 22: "En contredisant ainsi l'auteur des *Pensées* . . . Voltaire pouvait se réclamer d'une très ancienne tradition philosophique, laquelle, revivifiée en Europe au temps de la Renaissance, était restée, on le sait, très vivante en France pendant tout le dix-septième siècle chrétien."

The impression gathered from this book is that the point at issue between Pascal and his partisans and among the Encyclopedists is not so much the ontological value of reason as its efficiency to achieve by itself alone happiness and order together with social betterment. In this connection, Mr. Finch points out that Pascal was unjustly accused by d'Alembert and Condorcet (pp. 52 and 63) of fostering atheism by denying the power of reason to demonstrate the existence of God. Occasional sceptic remarks in Pascal might naturally mislead but the author stresses well that Condorcet should not have raised the above accusation against Pascal because the latter had "trouvé insuffisantes les preuves déistes de l'existence de Dieu." He quotes Pascal at length to show that the latter admitted the validity of the metaphysical proofs (p. 62). Thus the deists, Pascal, and the Christians are of one mind on that point. Several Christian confessions make it an article of faith that God can be apprehended by reason alone. Hence the following statement of the author is not quite accurate: Pascal, "apologiste chrétien, n'avait *aucun intérêt* [italics mine] à établir l'existence du Dieu . . . des déistes" (p. 28).

This book substantiates what we may expect the criticisms on Pascal to be, from the general philosophy of the Encyclopedists.

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From Beast-Machine to Man-Machine. Animal Soul in French Letters from Descartes to La Mettrie. By LEONORA COHEN ROSENFELD. New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. 353 + xxvii. \$3.50.

This book, a comprehensive study of conflicting theories of animal soul from Descartes to La Mettrie, provides a focus through which the classical era in French letters can be viewed. The author, as an historian of ideas, ostensibly treats a somewhat narrow theme, but actually illuminates the entire transition from the medieval to the modern world.

The Middle Ages believed that the world is a God-inspired mystery, that natural events rest upon supernatural and teleological foundations. The Renaissance and the Enlightenment gradually substituted a relatively naturalistic and mechanical interpretation of reality. The present volume, concentrating upon one aspect of this transition, reveals the profound effect upon French literature of the issues debated during the transitional period.

The book begins with a study of Descartes' theory of animal mechanism. In working out his sharp dualism between mind and body, Descartes included animals in the sphere of "*res extensa*." Beasts, he contended, have elementary sensations but no consciousness, and hence no thoughts or feelings. His theory became immensely influential. For example, the school of Port Royal, according to La Fontaine, maintained the doctrine with ostentatious imperturbability: "They administered beatings to dogs with perfect indifference, and made fun of those who pitied the creatures as if they had felt pain. They said that the animals were clocks; that the cries they emitted when struck, were only the noise of a little spring which had been touched, but that the whole body was without feeling." Among the numerous adherents of this view were such famous thinkers as Pascal, Arnauld, Malebranche, and Bossuet.

Before the close of the seventeenth century, the Cartesian doctrine was very widely accepted in aristocratic, university and even church circles; but opposition arose from two camps, the traditionalists and the empiricists. The traditional point of view, based upon Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas, was most deeply imbedded in the Jesuit order. These neo-Scholastics maintained that animals are intermediate between inorganic bodies and human beings: they cannot reflect and they are not immortal, but they can feel, imagine, remember, and sensuously crave. (There was also neo-Platonic opposition to Descartes, but Aristotelianism was more widespread.)

Both traditionalism and Cartesianism waned after 1690 whereas empiricism waxed stronger. The empiricists included such famous writers as Gassendi, Bayle, Fontenelle, Voltaire, and La Mettrie. Maintaining that man and beast are of the same essence, they opposed Cartesian dualism with its corollary that the human soul is immortal and has direct commerce with God through the medium of innate ideas. The logical culmination of their doctrine appeared in La Mettrie's famous book, *L'Homme-Machine*, published in 1748.

Here materialism comes full circle: the "soul," he maintained, is merely a property or function of the body. The essential difference between man and beast is that the body of the former is more complexly organized than that of the latter, and consequently thought, which is possessed by both, reaches a higher stage in man. "Nature," he contended, "has used but one dough, and has merely varied the leaven." Mrs. Rosenfield, in discussing La Mettrie, speaks of him as a mechanist; but if he is to be so classified, it is in an extended sense of the term, since his "mechanism" admits mental qualities and different levels of organization. He is not, despite the title of his book, an extreme reductive materialist.

The poets were by no means indifferent to the controversy reflected in these diverse philosophies; but in all of French literature, Louis Racine, son of the great dramatist, was the only poet to defend the Cartesian beast-machine. Even Catherine Descartes, niece of the philosopher, wrote verse in opposition to her uncle. From an esthetic standpoint, La Fontaine far overshadowed the other poets who discussed the problem; but the fact that a considerable number of versifiers dealt with so metaphysical a theme indicates that it had, despite its abstruseness, a wide and deep appeal. In rebelling against the concept of the beast-machine, the poets, in a manner typical of imaginative men, were objecting to a somewhat arid mechanistic doctrine. The debate spread to the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and England; and it thus constituted one of the principal symptoms of the great shift in human thought.

In a scholarly and painstaking survey, Mrs. Rosenfield traces the intricacies of the controversy without losing sight of its larger significance. Her book is copiously supplied with notes and bibliographical data, and summarizes the preceding scholarship in the field. She has perhaps been needlessly repetitious; but on the whole, she has written an admirable study of a most remarkable chapter in human thought.

MELVIN RADER

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Jean-Baptiste Rousseau. His Life and Works. By HENRY A. GRUBBS. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. viii + 310. \$3.00.

In writing this scholarly biography Mr. Grubbs has endeavored, not only to collect extensive information about his author, but to clear him of charges that brought about his exile and to convince us that his lyrics are still worth reading. For the defense of Jean-Baptiste Rousseau he lays stress upon a MS he discovered in the Bibliothèque de Chartres, written in the poet's hand and intended as an apology. To win him readers he argues about fluctuating tastes and suggests that to appreciate the odes is no more difficult than "to penetrate the obscurity of certain admired modern poets." As, how-

ever, the MS proves unreliable in several cases in which its accuracy can be tested,¹ it seems to me that it cannot be given enough weight to clear its author. Nor do Mr. Grubbs' quotations from the lyrics do much to alter the impression that they are, as he well puts it, a "polished expression of the obvious."

Now it is easier for most of us to enjoy the epigrams, often witty, than it is for us to appreciate the odes. May it not be that the former represented the genre for which Jean-Baptiste Rousseau was fitted? The son of a cobbler, a clever boy whose skill at riming gratified his ambition for fame and for social recognition, he sought to get ahead at the expense of others, was rebuffed, exiled, considered himself the object of bitter persecution. His crabbed nature found genuine expression in satirical writing, but not in his odes, which consequently seem uninspired. To have presented him in this way would not have made him a less interesting figure.

Mr. Grubbs' partiality to his man causes him to miss a discovery in regard to his assumed name. He says that, according to the poet's enemies, he "took the name of *De Verniettes*, and, after the first performance of *Le Flatteur*, refused to recognize his father" (p. 41). Mr. Grubbs believes this to be merely hostile gossip, though he admits that Fournier noted in 1875 that "M. Devergnettes" had free admission to the Comédie Française when *Le Flatteur* first appeared. This hint should have led him farther. Bonnassies (*Comédie-Française*, 1874, pp. 113-14) reproduces a list of persons admitted free to the theater in the first five months of 1697, including authors who were not actors and had begun writing for the troupe after 1688. As he names Regnard, Brueys, Palaprat, La Grange-Chancel, de Brie, Dufresny, and an otherwise unknown "Devergnette," and does not name Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, two of whose plays, *Le Caffé* and *Le Flatteur*, had been acted in 1694-96, these facts lend strong support to the statement that Jean-Baptiste Rousseau assumed the name "De Verniettes," though they do not, of course, prove that he ignored his father.

A few details: p. 16, Procope's establishment was as old as 1691 (cf. Campardon, *Comédiens du roi*, p. 291); p. 28, "reliable" seems hardly the adjective to characterize Brossette; pp. 43, 306, for *Johannides* read *Joanides*; p. 120, the four-line quotation, which Grubbs fails to identify, is from Brueys, *Empiriques*, II, 9; p. 141, Corneille was not "thirty-two" when he wrote *Le Cid*, nor was Racine "twenty-eight" when he wrote *Andromaque*; p. 163, read Lavertu; pp. 173, 273, to give La Fontaine even a possible claim to the authorship of *Le Florentin* is especially inappropriate in a book on Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, who was one of the first to protest against such attribution.

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¹ Jean-Baptiste Rousseau makes himself younger than he was, as Mr. Grubbs admits. He claims that his *Capricieux* was played 12 times in 1700 and brought him 100 pistoles, though the records of the Comédie Française show that it was played only 7 times in 1700 and earned for its author only 712 francs, 6 sous.

La Cristina, tragedia inedita di F. M. Trevisani, con notizie sulle vita e sulle opere dell'autore a cura di Michele De Filippis. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Volume 21, No. 4, pp. 277-376. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1940.

With this volume Mr. De Filippis makes another and more conspicuous addition to the results of his study of Trevisani's large library now in the possession of the University of California. Most useful are the bio-bibliographical *notizie* which, while by no means complete, give us a lively and often intimate picture of the poet-statesman, who, though prominent enough in the Neapolitan scene during the turbulent Napoleonic era, has since fallen into obscurity.

The tragedy which Mr. De Filippis has so carefully edited conforms too closely to the traditional mediocrity of most Italian efforts in the field of serious drama to add greatly to its author's fame. It is not lacking, however, in a certain historical interest. Written apparently in 1794, with the Christian-Mohammedan background which had been popular for many years, it presents Errico, prince of Rhodes, captive in the palace of the Emperor Solimano. Just as the latter, grown suddenly weary of strife, is about to release his prisoner, Cristina, princess of Phrygia and beloved of Errico, appears as his pretended sister come to ransom him. Solimano demands her in marriage, she feigns agreement in order to cover a plan to escape; Errico overhears, bursts into denunciations and threats which endanger the plot's success. Nevertheless, that night Cristina, aided by friendly Mohammedans, effects Errico's release; in the turmoil he fails to penetrate her Moslem disguise and kills her. Discovering his error he slays Solimano and then himself.

The most interesting feature of the play, not to be revealed by a brief résumé, is the pre-romantic character of Errico, obviously formed by contemporary currents of tearful *sensibilité*. Rarely has a more lachrymose, moody, weak, ineffectual, petulant and self-centered hero railed against a malignant fate. His first attempt at positive action is to throw himself and Cristina into greater peril; his second results in his sweetheart's death, followed a moment later by his suicide. One wonders why the tragedy does not bear his name; true, it is Cristina's arrival which sets in motion the events leading ultimately to the catastrophe, yet to me whatever there is of the truly and intimately tragic is derived from the flaws of Errico's character. The question may be a clue as to how "advanced" Trevisani was; had he been a conscious romantic, the title would, I feel, have been different. Conservatism is indicated likewise by observance of the unities, and, although the acts are three instead of five, Metastasio, as the editor points out, had already furnished ample precedent for this.

Among the work's immediate defects must be considered its serious inconsistencies: how, for example, does such a type as Errico suddenly become an invincible warrior at the end? Why does Solimano at the same instant turn craven? Why do his seasoned, victorious warriors suddenly flee from the lone Errico? The rest of its many weaknesses are those conventional in Italian tragedy; *travestimenti* and *agnizioni*, horrid premonitory dreams, conversations overheard and misunderstood, with excessive rhetoric and transposition in the *endecasillabi sciolti* in which it is written.

One could wish that the editor had said some word of the author's choice of verse-form and particularly of his skill in its use. The occasional references to possible sources seem to me uniformly unconvincing: on the whole I should prefer either a more careful study of that aspect, or its omission. Although a more realistic appraisal of the work might be desired, the editor is, in general, to be complimented on the execution of his task.

A. T. MACALLISTER

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Outline of a Theory of Linguistic Change. By HARRY A. DEFERRARI. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1941. Pp. 21.

This is a pamphlet of twenty-one pages intended to serve as an introduction to Professor Deferrari's forthcoming work: *The Phonology of Italian, Spanish and French*.

One might well hesitate to comment upon this brochure before the *Phonology* itself is published, but, since the author has revealed in these few pages many of his ideas, and much of his method, it may not be amiss to consider now the new theory of the linguistic change "proposed here for the first time."

First come a number of generalizations upon primitive languages of all kinds.

The author states that linguistic change is due to three main forces: 1, assimilation; 2, reaction against assimilation; 3, the need for forcefulness.

The interplay of these three forces is generalized in the statement (p. 3): "Linguistic change is caused by assimilation and the reaction against assimilation." In other words, the assimilation proceeds until there is danger of losing sight of the original word; then, reaction comes to its rescue.

The author asserts that dissimilation "is really assimilation," and that "changes commonly explained 'by analogy' are really changes due to assimilation of one word to another." For him, the well-known phenomenon of assimilation is "due to auditive association or acoustic (or physiological) analogy"; and what has heretofore been known as analogy is described as "semantic assimilation."

After having disposed of the several forms of assimilation the author passes to an explanation of the Latin initial *c*, and then, for the phenomenon of diphthongization, he uses the ellipse taken from Jones's *An Outline of English Phonetics*. He does not extend his study to morphology and semantics.

Professor Deferrari's explanations are not always convincing. For example, on p. 2, the author says that when a language is imposed upon a conquered community, that community is provided with a more efficient language than the one it had previously. That may be true in some cases, but generalizations are not warranted. In 1871, were Alsace and a part of Lorraine provided with a more efficient language? Is Polish more efficient than German? Or Bulgarian more so than Roumanian?

On p. 3, would it not have been better to avoid the controversial question of whether Vulgar Latin precedes or follows Classic Latin. This could be done by using an older and a later form of the same word in Classic Latin, or in Old French.

On p. 5, the author implies that metathesis is due to a "planned improvement," rather than an unconscious, unwanted change.

The author's explanations are sometimes involved, and lacking in clarity. I quote from p. 7:

This continued flight of the differentiating sound from the sound which originally threatened to cause an assimilation or from any other sound which, being encountered in the original flight-movement, might also cause an oversimplification (assimilation) is the cause of what appears to be a kind of phonetic momentum. To this phenomenon we shall give the name of "the flight from assimilation." Notice, however, that the flight is only so far (i.e., the differentiation is only so great) as to avoid the assimilation. The urge for conservation of energy continually manifests itself, and to such a degree that the differentiating sound frequently is able to avoid assimilation while retaining or acquiring some phonetic characteristics of the sound which threatens to cause the assimilation.

After Dr. Deferrari has reduced assimilation, dissimilation and analogy to one basic phenomenon (assimilation) what has been gained if, every time that the word is used, it must be qualified by "auditive association" or "semantic assimilation?" And if no qualifying word be used there must result much confusion. The use of the single word "assimilation" to mean three different phenomena, even if there be a remote relation between them, is fortunately, not necessary since the three words (assimilation, dissimilation and analogy) hitherto used connote very definite ideas.

On p. 8, the author enters upon a discussion of the Latin sound of *c* before a front vowel, and asserts that its sound was *k*. That may give rise to unprofitable controversy, and some will probably always remain doubtful of any conclusion. Would it not suffice to say that "If the Folk-Latin sound of *c* + front vowel was pronounced *k*, then so and so happened in passing to the Romanic languages."

The explanations of diphthongization seem to lay too much emphasis upon *conscious* changes and since we cannot conceive of such motives in the minds of the illiterate Iberians, Gauls, and other peoples, we are left wondering why we should not continue to follow Havet and others, who seek to explain the phenomenon from the point of view of those who first diphthongized the Latin vowels as they came into the various Romanic languages. The author does not explain why some vowels are diphthongized and others not; nor why the same vowel is diphthongized in some positions and not in others; nor why some vowels are never diphthongized; nor why there was any more need for diphthongization in the Romanic languages than in Latin itself; nor why the Latin diphthongs were made simple sounds. Some of these things are hinted at, but always from the point of view of one who has Professor Jones's eclipse before him, rather than from the situation that obtained when the Romanic diphthongization began.

On p. 20, the author would have us believe that "all the members of the linguistic community strove to get the best or most efficient forms of the word," and the "irregular spellings . . . represent pronunciations which were temporarily used by some members of the linguistic community, but which were ultimately supplanted by the better selections made by the linguistic community as a whole." Does the author believe that the vowels in the French words: *ail*, *beurre*, *cueillir*, *bœuf* had four different sounds? If so, why did the "linguistic community" fail to replace those spellings by a better selection? We wonder how that sound [œ] of the International Phonetic alphabet would be written today by four persons, none of whom know French, nor any phonetic alphabet, and if each were writing without consulting the others? Each would probably write as best he might, just as did the original writers of those four words. The sound [œ] must have existed many years before it was written in any way, just as the modern patois are spoken, but, in most cases, not yet reduced to writing.

It must be remembered that the spoken word must come first, and that the written word is just an attempt to represent the phonetic sound.

After sampling Professor Deferrari's pamphlet, one may well wish that he had spent less time in re-stating in more complex language the old truths, and speculations, which had already been more simply expressed. And yet, it will be interesting to see if his *Phonology* will be couched in a simpler, clearer form, as it must be if he hopes that students of the historical grammar of the Romanic languages will avail themselves of it.

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* Books received which treat non-literary aspects of Latin-America will be found listed, and in many cases reviewed, in the *Revista Iberoamericana*.



